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A VOYAGE to EAST-INDIA;

WHEREIN

Some Things are taken Notice of,

In our PASSAGE THITHER;

But MANY MORE in our ABODE THERE,

Within that RICH and most SPACIOUS

EMPIRE of the GREAT MOGUL:

MIXT WITH SOME

Parallel Observations and Inferences upon the Story,

to profit as well as delight the READER.

REPRINTED from the EDITION of 1655:

WITH COPPER-PLATES.

Observed by EDWARD TERRY,

Then Chaplain to the Right Hon. Sir THOMAS ROW, Knt.

Lord Ambassador to the Great Mogul;

And afterwards Rector of the Church at Greenford, in Middlesex.

In journeying often, in Perils of Waters, in Perils of Robbers, in Perils by the Heathen, in Perils in the Sea. 2 *Cor.* xi. 26.

The Lord on high is mightier than the Noise of many Waters; yea, than the mighty Waves of the Sea. *Psal.* xciii. 4.

——Digitis a Morte remotus
Quatuor, aut septem.—*Juv. Sat.* xii.
Qui nescit orare, discat navigare.
Ubique Naufragium.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WILKIE, No. 71, ST. PAUL's CHURCH-YARD;

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AND E. EASTON, AT SALISBURY.

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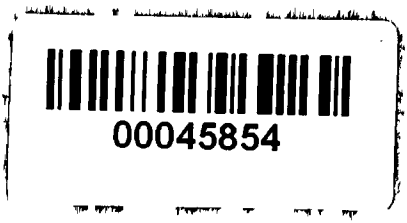

To the READER.

READER,

THERE never was an age more guilty than this preſent, of the great expence, and waſte of paper: whoſe fair innocence hath been extremely ſlubber'd by errors, hereſies, blaſphemies, and what not, in theſe bold times: which like ſo many (the fouleſt of all) blots and blurs hath defiled very much of it; ſo true is that of the Poet,

----- Tenet inſanabile multos
Scribendi Cacoëthes.------JUV.

Certainly there hath been of late abundantly more printed than ought, than ſhould: and if what follows in this diſcourſe lay under the guilt of any ſuch juſt exception, it ſhould feel the fire, not the preſs.

The ſum and ſubſtance of what here follows (as a deſcription of that empire) I long ſince compoſed, ſhortly after my return from Eaſt-India, and then preſented it in writing unto the late King, when he was Prince of Wales, in the year 1622, with this ſhort following epiſtle.

Moſt Renowned Prince,

I Have nothing to plead for this high preſumption, but the novelty of my ſubject, in which I confeſs ſome few have prevented me, who by travelling India in England or Europe, have written ſomewhat of thoſe remoteſt parts, but like unto poor tradeſmen, who take up wares on truſt, have been deceived themſelves, and do deceive others.

For myſelf, I was an eye-witneſs of much here related, living more than two years at the court of that mighty monarch the great Mogul, (who prides himſelf very much in his moſt famous anceſtor Tamerlane) in the deſcription of whoſe empire, your Highneſs may meet with large territories, a numerous court, moſt populous, pleaſant, and rich provinces; but when all theſe ſhall be laid in the balance againſt his miſerable blindneſs, your highneſs ſhall have more cauſe to pity, than envy his greatneſs.

I am

I am not ambitious to make this my relation public; and therefore if it conſume more paper, it ſhall not be my fault: as it is, in a fearful boldneſs 'tis offered to your princely hands; and if it may be any way pleaſing and uſeful, I have my reward; if not, my moſt humble deſires to have miniſtred ſomething this way unto your Highneſs, ſhall be my comfort.

Thus (reader) thou heareſt when this relation was firſt written, and into what hands it was then put: and although there be now a very great ſpace of time 'twixt the particulars then obſerved, and their publication now; which may make thee look upon that which is here brought forth, as an untimely birth, or as a thing born out of due time; therefore know (which may give thee ſome ſatisfaction herein) that for the commodities and diſcommodities of thoſe remote parts; for the cuſtoms and manners of that people; for their religion and policy, with every thing beſide (wherein thou may'ſt deſire information) which lies within the vaſt compaſs of that huge monarchy expreſ-

ſed in the map, and further deſcribed in this following diſcourſe (time not making that people at all to vary from themſelves) thou may'ſt look upon it now, as if it hath been taken notice of but immediately before it was here communicated; and if it prove uſeful now, I ſhall be very glad that it was reſerved even for this preſent time, wherein it might do ſome good.

Yet notwithſtanding this, it ſhould never have been brought by me into this more open view, (eſpecially in ſuch a ſcribling writing age as this, where there is no end of making many books, and many of thoſe written to no end but what is evil and miſchievous) but that the Printer, who had gotten my original copy, preſented as before, deſired to publiſh it. And becauſe ſo, I have reviſed, and in ſome particulars by pertinent, though in ſome places very long digreſſions, (which I would intreat the reader to improve!) ſo enlarged it, that it may (if it reach my aim)

aim) contain matter for inſtruction and uſe, as well as for relation and novelty. So that they who fly from a ſermon, and will not touch ſound, wholſome, and excellent treatiſes in divinity, may happily (if God ſo pleaſe) be taken before they are aware, and overcome by ſome divine truths that lie ſcattered up and down in many places of this narrative. To which end I have endeavoured ſo to contrive it for every one (that will pleaſe to read it through) that it may be like a well form'd picture, that ſeems to look ſtedfaſtly upon every beholder, who ſo looks upon it.

But here, reader, let us ſit down and wonder that in theſe days (which are called times of reformation) many choice books are often publiſhed, which contain in themſelves, and declare unto others, very much of the mind of God; yet are laid aſide, as if they were not worth the looking into, and in their ſtead romances, and other pamphlets, *ejuſdem farinæ*, of the like kind, which

do

do not inform, but corrupt rather the minds of thoſe which look ſo much into them, teaching wickedneſs while they ſeem to reprove it, are the books (O times!) which are generally called for, bought up, read, and liked.

When a traveller ſometimes obſerved the women in Rome to pleaſe themſelves in, and overmuch to play with their curs and monkeys, he aſked whether or no the women of Rome did dot bear children to delight themſelves with. The ſtory is ſo parallel to what I before obſerved, that he who runs may make application, and therefore I forbear to do it.

As for that I have here publiſhed, I know, *habent ſua fata libelli*, that books have their fates, as well as their authors; and therefore this relation, now it is got into the world, muſt take its chance, whatſoever its ſucceſs or acceptance be: but however, I ſhall never be of their mind, who think thoſe books beſt, which beſt ſell, when certain

tain it is that they are not to be valued by their good ſale, but good uſe.—Which while ſome may make of this, others who love to carp, and cenſure, and quarrel, (ſo as to make a man an offender for a word) may put harſh interpretation upon ſome paſſages they may find in this following diſcourſe. *Mala mens*, *malus animus*, an evil mind in itſelf, is an evil mind to all others. 'Twas ſaid of Diogenes that he was *tuba convitiorum*, the trumpet of reproaches; and that when he accuſed Plato of pride, he beat it down with greater pride. The grammarians were laughed at for taking ſo much pains to find out the faults of Ulyſſes, and would not take notice of any of their own. They are the worſt of the creatures, that breed in, and delight to be ever ſtirring up and down in corruption. But I would have all, who have an eye ſtanding too far out of their heads, and are therefore apt to ſee more in others than themſelves, and con-

conſequently may obſerve more than is meant, from ſome paſſages of this book to bound all their conceivings as to what they may find here within the compaſs of it, by that rule, which holds good in charity and law, and is true in divinity likewiſe, *in dubiis benigniora*, that when any thing delivered may bear two interpretations, to take the faireſt.

And now that this following relation may not appear to be a loſs, either of time or paper, he that ſhall pleaſe to read it, in our paſſage to Eaſt-India may obſerve very large foot-ſteps of the Almighty, in his works of creation and providence. And when I have brought him thither on ſhore, he may find that there is not one queſtion (as before) of any conſequence concerning thoſe parts I have undertaken to write of, but it finds ſatisfaction in one part or other of this diſcourſe. For the court there, there is ſo much riches and ſplendour ſometimes to be ſeen in it, that it may draw up the meditations of thoſe who behold

behold it, as the thoughts of Fulgentius ſometimes were, (when he beheld the glory of the court of Rome) raiſed up ſeriouſly to conſider of the glory of Heaven. And for the ſoil, it is exceeding pleaſant, rich, and good, as in ſome other parts of the world, where the inhabitants are meer ſtrangers to God; and if almighty God hath given ſuch ſweet places of abode here on the earth to very many whom he owns not, how tranſcendently glorious is that place which he hath prepared for thoſe that love him.

Yet for the inhabitants there, a man may clearly ſee the law of nature to be ſo engraved upon the hearts of very many, both Pagans and Mahometans; as that it may make multitudes, who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, (if they would but turn their eyes inward) extremely to wonder how it comes to be ſo much worn out of theirs.

And then he may further behold ſuch temperance, juſtice, and unwearied

ried devotion, (but in a wrong way) with many other excellent moralities, ſo to ſhine in them, that by this very light he may ſee thouſands of thoſe (whom before I named) that have means to know, and therefore ſhould do better, in many things to come exceeding ſhort of them, who (themſelves are ready to conclude) come ſhort of Heaven.

But I ſhall not further anticipate my diſcourſe, in being like a vain-glorious entertainer, who fills the ears of his gueſts with his diſhes, before they ſee or taſte them. Which if thou ſhall pleaſe to do, read on, and thou art very welcome however.

Farewell.

Edward Terry.

To his worthy Friend Mr. EDWARD TERRY, *on his Voyage to* EAST-INDIA.

I.

WORTH will break priſon, tho' detain'd awhile
To try its truth; yet lends the world a ſmile
At laſt: the glorious all-ey'd ſun, tho' late,
Defies its cloud, aſſerts its native ſtate,
And in a ſovereign grandeur doth ariſe:
To ſcorn thoſe miſts that aim'd it to diſguiſe:
So doth thine Indian voyage, after years
In ſilence buried, pleaſe our eyes and ears:
Not with Utopian fancies, nor with vain
Deluſions, brought unto us from the main
Invention, backt with boldneſs, ſo ſet out
As if we muſt believe, nor dare to doubt:
No, thou to thoſe appeal'ſt, whoſe knowledge can
Upbraid thee, if thou over-act the man,
Thou ſeem'ſt to be; thou by his light haſt gone,
Who knows exactly what is wrote, or done.

II.

The world's a theatre, in which each wight
His part doth act, the body to the ſprite
But ſhadow. Faces differ nothing more
Than do the ſouls, which fleſh hath cover'd o'er.
One wedg'd is to the gain of homeſtays; when
Another counts his home a lazer's den.
A third man proves ſo active, that he knows
No bounds but his vaſt fancy overflows:
With Alexander he to India flies,
Not it to conquer, but to pleaſe his eyes.

No

No ſea, no danger, no amazing foe,
Gives his brave emulation overthrow.
Leviathan's a gudgeon; he can vie
With Behemoth; no monſter makes him fly.
Hurry'd he is from eaſt to weſt, and thence
North, ſouth, to compaſs earth's circumference:
Here picks he up a rarity; anon
Poſts to ſome new diſcover'd horizon.

III.

Yet fond they are, who mak't their greateſt aim
To riſle earth, only to purchaſe fame.
But you, through haz'rdous torrid zones arrive,
To bring ſome honey to your country's hive.
No ſpices, orient pearls, no tiſſues are
Thy traffic; theſe with thee accounted ware
For pedling dolts; thy venture no return
Admits, but what enrich the mental urn,
And makes thy readers, at thy pains, appear
Acquainted with the ſouth-eaſt hemiſphere;
Wherein rare ſecrets of dame Nature lie
Couch'd, but diſcover'd knowledge multiply.
Well fare thy noble mind, which gives us cauſe
To view in it the force of nature's laws
Read in thoſe Indians: Proceed, and let us know
What other fruits within thine India grow,
And tell us what thou know'ſt. A man's not born
To ſee and to obſerve for's ſelf alone.
But to ſucceſſion we grow ſtill in debt;
Worth lives, when dead; day laſts, tho' ſun be ſet.

EDWARD WATERHOUSE, *Eſq.*

To my ancient Friend Mr. EDWARD TERRY, *on his* INDIAN *Voyage.*

GEographers preſent before mens eyes
How every land ſeated and bounded lies;
But the hiſtorian, and wiſe traveller,
Deſcry what minds and manners ſojourn there.
The common merchant brings thee home ſuch ware
As makes thy garment wanton, or thy fare:
But this hath traffic in a better kind;
To pleaſe and profit both thy virtuous mind.
He ſhews what reaſon finds in her dim night
By groping after God with nature's light;
Into what uncouth paths thoſe nations ſtray
Whom God permits to walk in their own way;
And how the ſun, a lamp to ſeek God by,
Dazzles ſome eyes into idolatry.
Read it, and thou wilt make this gain at leaſt,
To love thy one true God, and country beſt.

HENRY ASHWOOD.

To my ingenious Friend and dear Kinſman, the Author of theſe Relations.

THOUGH moſt geographers have the good hap
To travel in a ſafe expenceleſs map;
And while the world to us they repreſent,
No further yet than pilgrim Purchas went;
Paſt Dover's dreadful cliff afraid to go,
And took the Land's-end for the world's end too;
Span'd countries at the fingers ends at eaſe;
Crack'd with their nail all France, turn'd blots to ſeas;
Of whom this ſtrong line we may ridling ſay,
They travel not, but ſit ſtill a great way.

I muſt

I muſt applaud, whether thy choice, or lot,
Which hath beyond their lazy knowledge got,
Who only in the globe do croſs the line,
There raiſe the pole, and draw whole maps in wine
Spill'd on the table; meaſure ſeas and lands
By ſcale of miles wherein their compaſs ſtands.
But you, the truth's eye-witneſs, have not been
Homer i'th' dark, but what you write have ſeen:
A rich and abſolute prince, whoſe mighty hand
Indus and Ganges ſolely doth command;
A numerous people, wealthy traffic, new
Manners, and men, things wonderful and true.
Some relicks of the ancient Bramins race,
And what religious follies yet take place;
Whoſe pious errors, though they want our ſenſe,
Have in leſs knowledge more of conſcience:
Who, to condemn our barren light, advance
A juſt, obedient, humble ignorance.
While vice here ſeeks a voluntary night,
As over-glitter'd with too clear a light;
Neglected love, and the fair truth's abuſe,
Hath left our guilty bluſhes no excuſe;
And their blind zeal 'gainſt us a witneſs ſtands,
Who having ſo good eyes, have loſt our hands.
This you with pious faithfulneſs declare,
Nor quit the preacher for the traveller.
And though theſe leaves nothing to merchants owe
For ſpices, cochineal, or indico:
Yet all confeſs, who weigh the gains you brought,
Your ſhip was laden with a richer fraught;
While the glad world, by you inſtructed, ſings,
"Wiſdom's the nobleſt ware that travel brings."

ROBERT CRESWELL.

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PORTRAIT of the GREAT MOGUL, — —— 347

The MOGUL's IMPERIAL STANDARD, — after ditto.

His ROYAL SIGNET, —— — fronting ditto.

What do'ſt thou here, Elias? up, be gone,
And after many days, ſtill cry'd, go on.
Who follows cloſe God's call, and way runs beſt,
Till he receive his penny, take his reſt.

In three parts of the world I've been, now come
To my laſt journey, that will bring me home.

Edward Terry.

F I N I S.

PATRIAM INQUIRO NONDUM ATTIGI PEREGRINUS IN TERRA CURSUM PROSEQUOR
Ætat suæ 64. 1656.

A

VOYAGE to EAST-INDIA:

WITH

A Deſcription of the large Territories

UNDER THE

Subjection of the Great MOGUL.

APOLOGIES do more queſtion than ſtrengthen Truth; which Truth hath ſuch power in prevailing, that ſhe doth not know, and much leſs need, the uſe of preface, or words of perſuaſion to get her credit; for though ſhe appear ſimple and naked, unto open view, yet dares ſhe encounter with armed Falſhood, and is ſure at laſt to overcome; which Truth being the beſt ornament of this enſuing diſcourſe, looks to be credited, in what is here faithfully related.

Veritas eſt vita hiſtoriæ.

Some that in countries far remote have been,
And ſafe return'd, write more than known, than ſeen,
Or heard; that boldneſs here diſclaim ſhall I;
Truth is the life and ſoul of hiſtory.

So to make a re-entry upon a long-ſince finiſhed voyage.—The 3d of February, 1615, our Fleet—conſiſting of ſix good ſhips, three great, *viz.* the Charles, admiral of that company, then a new-built goodly ſhip of a thouſand tons, (in which I ſailed) the Unicorn, a new ſhip likewiſe, and almoſt of as great a burden; the James, a great ſhip too; three leſſer, *viz.* the Globe, the Swan, the Roſe, (all under the command of Capt. Benjamin Joſeph)—fell down from Grave's-End into Tilbury-Hope, where we continued 'till the 8th day following; when we weighed anchor, and by a ſlow, that we might have the ſafer paſſage, the 12th came into the Downs, where an adverſe wind forced our abode 'till the 9th of March; on which day it pleaſed God to ſend us, what we had much deſired, a north-eaſt wind, which made us leave that weary road, and ſet ſail to Eaſt-India; and the 11th, about night, we were in the height of the Lizard, in Cornwall; and that day, for that time, took our laſt ſight of our country.

This wind was favourable to us, 'till the 16th day, at night; at which time a moſt fearful ſtorm met us, we being then in the bay of Portugal, whoſe violence continued five whole

whole days and nights; and that tempeſt was the moſt lively and real comment that ever I obſerved, on that place recorded in Pſal. 107, v. 23, *&c.* thus rendered:

In winged ſhips, who paſſage make,
And through vaſt ſeas their journies take;
See, while their ſhips in billows keep,
God's works, and wonders in the deep;
Who there commands the winds to ſtorm;
Theſe mount the waves, on which are borne
The tottering ſhips, on wat'ry heaps,
Now high to th' Heav'ns, then low to th' deeps;
The ſeamen's hearts they melt for woe,
Nor head, nor foot, their office know;
They reel like to a drunken one,
And ſtagger, for their wiſdom's gone.
Then cry they to the Lord, in theſe
Great ſtreights, and he them hears, them frees;
The winds and waves obey God's will,
The ſtorm's a calm, the waves lie ſtill;
Then are they glad——&c.

The 28th we had ſight of the Grand Canaries, and of that mountain in the iſland of Teneriffe, commonly called the Peak.

Qui——caput inter nubila condit.
——*ſo high,*
As that it threats the neighbouring ſky.
Or, ——*that ſhrouds*
Its lofty head amongſt the clouds.

This over-grown riſe of earth, is in ſhape like to a pyramid, or ſugar-loaf, circled, and

wrapt about with many wreaths of clouds, which encompaſs it by ſeveral diſtances; as firſt, earth, then clouds, above which the earth appears again, then clouds again, then earth; the top of it being of ſuch an immenſe height, that it may be as truly ſaid of this, as Virgil, Eclogue 5, writes of Olympus:

Candidus inſuetum miratur limen Olympi,
Sub pedibuſque videt nubes, & ſidera.—

So beautiful, it Heaven's unwonted ſpires,
And clouds, and ſtars, under its feet admires.

This Peak of Teneriffe, in a clear day, may be ſeen (if the mariners report truth) more than forty leagues at ſea. Theſe iſlands lie 28 degrees of north latitude.

The 31ſt, being Eaſter-day, we paſſed under the tropic of Cancer; and the 7th of April the ſun was our zenith, or vertical, at noon-day, directly over our heads; which we found by this infallible demonſtration, made by a ſlender knife, or long needle, ſet upright, which did caſt no ſhadow. The ſun in this courſe like the equinoctial, divides the globe of the Heavens in two equal parts; and in this motion ariſeth ſo directly, or upright, that there is but a very little time 'twixt the darkneſs and the appearance of the body of the ſun in the morning; for 'tis dark immediately before the ſun then appears; and ſo 'tis in the evening, preſently after the ſun hath left the hemiſphere. Here we were becalmed fourteen days, enduring extreme heat.

The

The 16th we met with winds, (we being then againſt, and not far from the coaſts of *Africa*) which the mariners call the Turnadoes; very ſtrange guſts indeed, like thoſe in Æſchylus, on the ſhore, Æſc. προμηθ: δεσμωτ: (*ad finem.*)

——— στρόμβοι δὲ κόνιν
Εἰλίσσουσι, σκίπτᾶ δ' ἀνέμων
Πνεύματα πᾶσιν εἰς ἄλληλα
Στάσιν ἀντίπνοὸν ἀποδεικνύμενα.

——— *Whirlwinds around*
Hurry the duſt; the blaſts rebound,
Storming on all ſides: thus together,
Enraged guſts oppoſe each other.

Or like thoſe in Virgil at ſea, Æneid 1, verſe 85, *&c.*

Hæc ubi dicta, cavum converſa cuſpide montem
Impulit in latus: at venti velut agmine facto,
Quà data porta, ruunt, & terras turbine perflant.
Incubuere mari, totumque à ſedibus imis
Unà euruſque notuſque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus: & vaſtos volvunt ad littora fluctus.

Thus ſaid, with his ſpear's point the hollow hill
He turn'd aſide, the winds left to their will
All ſally out, and bluſtering through the world
Fall on the ſea, which from the depths is hurl'd
By th' eaſt, and ſouth at once, and ſtormy north,
Which to the ſhore, huge wallowing waves roll forth.

Thoſe ſelf-oppoſing blaſts we there had, were ſo variable and uncertain, that ſometimes

within the ſpace of one hour, all the thirty-two ſeveral winds, (which are obſerved in ſo many points of the compaſs) will blow, ſo that if there be many ſhips in company, you may obſerve them all to ſail ſo many ſeveral ways, and every one of them ſeem to go directly before the wind. Now, that it ſhould be ſo here, and not known ſo to be in any part of the world beſide I ever heard of, (if not in thoſe winds, which they ſay are ſometimes ſold by the Lapland witches) I can give no reaſon for it; unleſs Satan, that prince of the air, (who is moſt tyrannical where he is moſt obeyed) ſeems to rule more here than he doth in other parts. And moſt certain it is that he rules very much in the inhabitants on that main, the poor, ignorant, and moſt miſerable negroes, born for ſale, ſlavery, and ſlaughter. Theſe ſtrange guſts were accompanied with much thunder and lightning, and with extreme rain, ſo noiſome, that it made their clothes, who ſtirred much in it, preſently to ſtink upon their backs; the water likewiſe of thoſe ſlimy, unwholſome, hot, and unſavoury ſhowers, whereſoever it ſtood, would preſently bring forth many little offenſive creatures. Theſe Turnadoes met with us, when we were about 12 degrees of north latitude, and kept us company e're they quitted us two degrees ſouthward of the equinoctial, under which we paſſed the 28th of April.

The 19th of May, being Whit-Sunday, we paſſed the tropic of Capricorn, ſo that we were

were ſeven weeks compleat under the torrid zone.

Between the tropics we ſaw (almoſt every day) different kinds of fiſhes, in greater abundance than elſewhere; as the great Leviathan, whom God hath made to take his paſtime in the ſea; grampuſſes, or leſſer whales, ſharks, turtles, or tortoiſes, dolphins, bonitoes, albicores, porpoiſes, flying fiſhes, with many others. Some whales we ſaw of an exceeding greatneſs, who in calm weather often ariſe and ſhew themſelves on the top of the water, where they appear like unto great rocks, in their riſe, ſpouting up into the air, with noiſe, a great quantity of water, which falls down again about them like a ſhower. The whale may well challenge the principality of the ſea; yet I ſuppoſe he hath many enemies in this his large dominion; for inſtance, a little long fiſh, called a threſher, often encounters with him, who by his agility vexeth him as much in the ſea, as a little bee in ſummer doth a great beaſt on the ſhore.

The ſhark hath not this name for nothing; for he will make a morſel of any thing he can catch, maſter, and devour. Theſe ſharks are moſt ravenous fiſhes; for I have many times obſerved, that when they have been ſwimming about our ſhips (as oftentimes they do) and we have caſt overboard an iron hook, made ſtrong for this purpoſe, faſtened to a rope ſtrong like it, baited with a piece of beef of five pounds weight, this bait hath been pre-

ſently taken by one of them; and if by chance the weight of the fiſh, thus taken, in halling him up, hath broken out the hook's hold, not well faſtened, (as ſometimes it did) ſo that he fell again into the ſea, he would preſently bite at any other bait, and ſo bite 'till he was taken: Not much unlike many vile men, who think they may ſafely take any thing they can finger and get; and having been faſtened in, and eſcaped out of many ſnares, will take no warning, but be ſtill nibbling and biting at what they like; not once conſidering, that there is a hook within the bait, that will take them at laſt, and hamper them, to their unavoidable deſtruction. This ſea-ſhark is a fiſh as bad in eating as he is in quality, a very moiſt watry fiſh, yet eaten at ſea, (becauſe any freſh thing will there go down) but no good food. This fiſh turns himſelf on his back to take his prey, by which he gives warning to many other little fiſhes, who ever ſwim about him, to avoid his ſwallow. Thoſe fiſhes that thus keep him company, are called by the mariners, pilate fiſhes, who always ſhape their courſe the ſame way the ſhark takes, and by conſequence (nature having made them ſo wary) he becomes their guard, not they his food. And there are other fiſhes, they call ſucking-fiſh, that ſtick ſo cloſe to the body of the ſhark, as a tick on the ſhore doth to the body of a beaſt, and ſo receive their nouriſhment from him, and he muſt be contented, for while he is ſwimming up and down,

down, he cannot poſſibly free himſelf of them. Many of theſe ſharks grow to a very large greatneſs; they have a broad round head, in which are three rows of teeth, very ſtrong and ſharp, by which they are able to take off the leg of a man at one bite; as ſome have found, by woeful experience, while they have been careleſsly ſwimming in theſe hot ſeas, where theſe ſharks moſt uſe; and certainly, were they as nimble as they are miſchievous, would do very much hurt.

The turtle, or tortoiſe, is one of thoſe creatures we call *amphibia*, that lives ſometimes in the ſea, and ſometimes on the ſhore; he is marvellouſly fortified by nature, dwelling (as it were) continually under a ſtrong roof, which moves with him, and covers (when he will) his whole body; therefore *teſtudo*, which ſignifies a tortoiſe, ſignifies alſo the roof or vault of an houſe, which covers all within it. Thoſe concave backs, (like bucklers, but of an oval ſhape) that cover theſe creatures, are many of them ſo exceeding ſtrong, that they will bear off the weight of a cart wheel. Theſe tortoiſes increaſe by eggs, (as I have been often told) are very good to eat; the ſubſtance within them (whether you call it fleſh or fiſh) firſt boiled, and after minced with butter, taſtes like buttered veal. Their ſhell makes (as is very commonly known) excellent good combs, cups, or boxes; and further, it is uſed by them in Eaſt-India, to make or adorn little or great cabinets.

The

The dolphin, is a fiſh, called for his ſwiftneſs the arrow of the ſea, differing in this one particular from all other fiſhes I ever obſerved, in that he hath many little teeth upon the top of his tongue. He is very pleaſing to the eye, ſmell, and taſte; of a changeable colour, finn'd like a roach, cover'd with many ſmall ſcales, having a freſh delightſome ſcent above other fiſhes, and in taſte as good as any. Theſe dolphins are wont often to follow our ſhips, not ſo much I think for the love they bear unto man, (as ſome write) as to feed themſelves with what they find caſt over-board; whence it comes to paſs that many times they feed us; for when they ſwim cloſe to our ſhips, we often ſtrike them with a broad inſtrument, full of barbs, called an harping-iron, faſtened to a rope; by which we haul them in. This dolphin may be a fit emblem of an ill race of people, who under ſweet countenances carry ſharp tongues.

Bonitoes, and albicores, are in colour, ſhape, and taſte, much like unto mackarel, and as good fiſh as they; but they grow to be very exceeding large.

The porpoiſes, or hog-fiſh, are like the former, very large and great, but better to look upon than to taſte; they uſually appear at ſea in very great ſhoals or companies; and are (as if they came of the race of the Gadaren ſwine, that ran violently into the ſea) very ſwift in their motion, and like a company marching in rank and file; they leap or mount

very

very nimbly over the waves, and ſo down and up again, making a melancholy noiſe when they are above the water; theſe are uſually, when they thus appear, certain preſagers of very foul weather.

The flying fiſhes have ſkinny wings like unto bats, but larger; they are ſtiffened and ſtrengthened with many little bones, ſuch as are in the back fins of perches, by which they fly, but a little way at a time; they have ſmall bodies, like unto pilchards, and appear when they fly in marvellous great companies; and ſome of them often fly into our ſhips, by which we have taſted they are excellent good fiſh. Of all other, the flying fiſhes live the moſt miſerable lives; for being in the water, the dolphins, bonitoes, albicores, and porpoiſes, chace, perſecute, and take them; and when they would eſcape by their flight, are often times caught by ravenous fowls, ſomewhat like our kites, which hover over the water. Theſe flying fiſhes are like men profeſſing two trades, and thrive at neither.

I could further enlarge, but my buſineſs is not to write an hiſtory of fiſhes; yet in theſe we have named, as in thouſands more which inhabit that watery main, I deſire with David to admire and ſay, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works!" manifold and wonderful indeed; as he that will take notice may obſerve every where, but in an eſpecial manner (becauſe they are more rare) in the great variety of ſtrange creatures, which the ſea, that womb

of

of moiſture, brings forth; in which many things we behold are wonderful, and many things beſides, which we cannot ſee, are certainly more full of wonder.

In which unfathom'd wat'ry deep,
Creatures innumerable keep;
Some ſmall, ſome great, among the waves,
As if they liv'd in moving graves:
Through which the ſhips do plow their way,
In which the whales do ſport and play.

Pſalm 104, v. 24, 25, 26.

But to proceed on our voyage.—The 12th of June, early in the morning, we eſpied our long-wiſhed-for harbour, the bay of Souldania, about twelve leagues ſhort of the Cape of Good Hope, where we came happily to an anchor that forenoon. In which bay we found a Dutch ſhip, bound for Bantam, which had taken in her courſe, and brought thither, a a ſmall Portugal ſhip, bound to Angola, a colony belonging to the Portugueſe, lying in the ſkirts of Africa, about ten degrees ſouth of the line; in which ſmall ſhip, amongſt many rich commodities (as we heard) to the value of five or ſix thouſand pounds ſterling, there were ten Portugal virgins, (as they called themſelves) ſent to that colony I ſuppoſe for huſbands. The young women were well favoured, and well clad in ſilks; but ſuch were the courteſies of theſe Dutchmen towards them, as that they took not only away all the goods, artillery, and good proviſions of their

ſhip,

ſhip, but they robb'd theſe poor captive maidens of all their apparel, (which they moſt ſadly complained of) to one poor ſuit, (and I ſuppoſe of their honour too, if they brought it with them) then giving them water for their wine, and a very ſcanty proportion of all other proviſions, turn'd them, with their unarm'd, leaky, and ill-mann'd ſhip, to the mercy of the ſeas, the twentieth day following.

This bay of Souldania lieth in 34 degrees and a half of ſouth latitude; in a ſweet climate, full of fragrant herbs, (which the ſoil produceth of itſelf) pleaſing to the ſenſe; where our ſhips companies, when they have often-times there arrived with very weak and feeble bodies, uſually by that ſea diſeaſe, the ſcurvy; in which diſeaſe (I ſhall obſerve by the way) if any that have it be not too much overgone with it, as ſoon as he comes to enjoy the freſh air on any ſhore, the freſh water, and freſh food, he will preſently recover; but if this diſeaſe have over much prevailed on him, immediately after he ſets his foot on ſhore he uſually dies. I ſay our people, when they have come hither with very crazy bodies, have often found here much good refreſhing; for beſides a moſt delectable brook of pure good water, ariſing hard by out of a mighty hill, (called from its form, the Table; cloſe by which there is another hill, which ariſeth exceeding high, like a pyramid, and called by paſſengers, the Sugar-loaf) there are good ſtore of cattle, as little beeves,

beeves, called by the barbarous inhabitants, Boos; and ſheep, which they call Baas, who bear a ſhort, coarſe, hairy wool, and I conceive are never ſhorn. Theſe Boos and Baas, as they call them, were formerly bought in great plenty, for ſmall quantities of kettle-braſs, and iron hoops taken off our empty caſks, which were all for this long voyage hoop'd with iron. Theſe ſavages had their cattle, which we bought of them, at a very great command, for with a call they would preſently run to them; and when they had ſold any one of their bullocks to us, for a little inconſiderate piece of braſs, if we did not preſently knock him down, they would by the ſame call make the poor creature break from us, and run unto them again; and then there was no getting them out of their hands, but by giving them more braſs; and by this trick now and then they ſold the ſame beaſt unto us two or three times; and if they had thus ſold him more often, he had been a good pennyworth; however, in this we might obſerve the covetouſneſs and deceit of this bruti-ſh people. Here ye muſt know that theſe people of all metals ſeem to love braſs, I think (as you may gueſs afterward) for the rankneſs of its ſmell; with which they make great rings to wear about their wriſts; yea ſo taken are they with this baſe metal, that if a man lay down before them a piece of gold worth two pounds ſterling, and a piece of braſs worth two-pence, they will leave the gold, and take

take the braſs. On this ſhore there likewiſe are found, excellent good, though ſmall roots for ſallads, which the ſoil brings forth without huſbanding; and in the head of the bay may be taken with nets, great ſtore of fair fat mullets, of which we took abundance.

This remoteſt part of Africa is very mountainous, over-run with wild beaſts, as lions, tigers, wolves, and many other beaſts of prey, which in the ſilent night diſcover themſelves by their noiſe and roaring; to the teeth and jaws of which cruel beaſts, the natives here expoſe their old people, if death prevent it not, when once they grow very old and troubleſome, laying them forth in ſome open place, in the dark night, "When the wild beaſts (as David obſerves, Pſal. 104, v. 20, 21) do creep forth, and the young lions roar after their prey." One miſerable poor old wretch was thus expoſed when we were there; who by his pitiful cries was diſcovered by our court of guard, there on ſhore, and not far off from him, and by them relieved and delivered for that preſent time out of the jaws of death; and we aſking Cooree, one of the natives, (whoſe ſtory you ſhall have by and by) why they did ſo? he told us it was their cuſtom, when their people had lived ſo long, that they knew not what to do with them, thus to be rid of them.

We ſaw in this bay of Souldania many whales, and about the ſhore divers party-coloured fowls; and here are oſtriches to be

ſeen.

ſeen. For the ſoil about the bay, it ſeems to be very good; but the ſun ſhines not upon a people in the whole world more barbarous than thoſe which poſſeſs it; beaſts in the ſkins of men, rather than men in the ſkins of beaſts; as may appear by their ignorance, habit, language, diet; with other things, which make them moſt brutiſh.

Firſt, for God, the great God of Heaven and Earth, whom generally all the people in the world, Heathen as well as Chriſtians, do confeſs; they (as this Cooree told us) acknowledge none. For their ſpeech it ſeemed to us inarticulate noiſe, rather than language, like the clucking of hens, or gabling of turkeys; and thus making a very ſtrange confuſed noiſe, when they walk here or there: If there be two, or three, or five, or ten, or twenty, or very many more in company, it is their manner to walk in rank one after the other, in ſmall paths they have made by their thus walking, as kine in ſummer many times do when they come home to the pail; and as wild-geeſe who fly in ranks, and as they fly make a noiſe; ſo theſe walking together thus gabble from the firſt to the laſt in company, as if all ſpake, but none anſwered. Their habits are their ſheep ſkins undreſt, thonged together, which cover their bodies to the middle, with a little flap of the ſame ſkin tied before them, being naked downward; and when 'tis cold keep the woolly, when hotter weather, the fleſhy ſide of thoſe ſkins next to their bodies. Their

ornaments

ornaments and jewels, bullocks or ſheeps guts, full of excrement, about their necks; and therefore when we bought their cattle, they would take (and we were content they ſhould) their ſkins, guts, and garbage, which plentifully furniſhed them with that rich attire, and gay ornaments; and when they were hungry, they would ſit down upon ſome hillock, firſt ſhaking out ſome of that filthy pudding out of the guts they wore about their necks, then bowing and bringing their mouths to their hands, almoſt as low as their knees, like hungry dogs would gnaw and eat the raw guts; when you may conceive their mouths full of ſweet green ſauce. The women, as the men, are thus adorned, thus habited, and thus dieted; only they wear more about their lower parts than the men; and (by the way) theſe carry their ſucking infants under their ſkins upon their backs, and their breaſts (hanging down like bag-pipes) they put up with their hands to their children, that they may ſuck them over their ſhoulders. Both ſexes make coverings for their heads like to ſkull-caps, with cow-dung, and ſuch like filth, mingled with a little ſtinking greaſe, with which they likewiſe beſmear their faces, which makes their company inſufferable, if they get the wind of you. I obſerved, that ſome of the reſt of their diet was agreeable to the former; for they would eat any refuſe thing, as rotten and mouldy biſkets, which

we have given them, fit indeed for nothing but to be caſt away; yea, they will eat that which a ravenous dog in England will refuſe. I once took notice of a couple of them, who had found on the neighbouring ſhore a large piece of a dead fiſh the ſea had caſt up, which did moſt ſufficiently ſtink; they preſently made a little fire with dry cow-dung, and with this they warm'd it, and then eat it, with as much ſeeming appetite as a hungry man with us would feed upon a very choice and ſavoury diſh; which makes me almoſt to believe, that thoſe wretched creatures have but three ſenſes, wanting the benefit both of ſmelling and taſting. They lodge upon the earth in hovels, ſo ill covered that they keep not out the weather, made like to thoſe we call ſummer-houſes, with boughs and ſticks.

Et pecus, & Dominus communi clauditur umbrâ.
The beaſt and's maſter under one ſhade dwell;
But which the verieſt beaſt, is hard to tell.

Theſe brutes devote themſelves to idleneſs, for they neither dig nor ſpin. For their ſtature and make, they are very ſtrait, and well-limb'd, though not very tall; but in their faces very ill-favoured, for the noſes of moſt of them are flat. They have little or no beard; the hair on their heads ſhort, black and curled; their ſkins very tawny; ſwift they are of foot, and will throw darts and ſhoot arrows, which are their weapons, very dangerouſly.

Methinks,

Methinks, when I have ſeriouſly conſidered the dreſſes, the habitations, and the diet of this people, with other things, and how theſe beaſts of mankind live like brutes, nay worſe, I have thought that if they had the accommodations we enjoy, (to make our lives more comfortable) by good dwelling, warm cloathing, ſweet lodging, and wholſome food, they would be abundantly pleaſed with ſuch a change of their condition: For as love proceeds from knowledge and liking, and we can neither love nor like any thing we cannot know; ſo when we come to a ſenſible underſtanding of things we knew not before; when the belly teaches, and the back inſtructs, a man would believe that theſe ſhould work ſome ſtrong convictions. But I ſhall here inſert a ſhort ſtory. About three years before I went to India, it happened, that one of the company's ſhips returning thence, and arriving at this harbour, after a little ſtay, when ſhe was ready to ſet ſail for England, and having then two of thoſe ſavages aboard, her commander reſolved to bring them both home with him; thinking, that when they had got ſome Engliſh here, they might diſcover ſomething of their country which we could not know before. Theſe poor wretches being thus brought away, very much againſt both their minds, one of them (merely out of extreme ſullenneſs, though he was very well uſed) died ſhortly after they put to ſea; the other, who call'd himſelf Cooree,

(whom I mentioned before) lived, and was brought to London, and there kept, for the ſpace of ſix months, in Sir Thomas Smith's houſe, (then governor of the Eaſt-India company) where he had good diet, good cloaths, good lodging, with all other fitting accommodations. Now one would think that this wretch might have conceived his preſent, compared with his former condition, an Heaven upon Earth; but he did not ſo, though he had to his good entertainment made for him a chain of bright braſs, an armour, breaſt, back, and head-piece, with a buckler, all of braſs, his beloved metal; yet all this contented him not, for never any ſeemed to be more weary of ill uſage, than he was of courteſies; none ever more deſirous to return home to his country, than he; for when he had learned a little of our language, he would daily lie upon the ground, and cry very often thus in broken Engliſh, "Coree home go, Souldania go, home go;" and not long after, when he had his deſire, and was returned home, he had no ſooner ſet footing on his own ſhore, but preſently he threw away his cloaths, his linen, with all other covering, and got his ſheeps ſkins upon his back, guts about his neck, and ſuch a perfum'd cap, as before we named, upon his head; by whom that proverb mentioned, 2 Pet. 2, v. 22, was literally fulfill'd, *Canis ad vomitum*; "the dog is return'd to his vomit, and the ſwine to his wallowing in the mire."

mire." From all which we may draw this concluſion, that a continued cuſtom may make many things that ſeem ſtrange and loathſome to ſome, even natural to others; and that the moſt brutiſh life may ſeem civil, and beſt to a moſt brutiſh man; and he thus pleading for it.

Cuſtom the nurſe of nature oft' is prov'd,
Like nurſes, than the mother more belov'd.
Thus beſtial crimes men by their wont excuſe,
And love not what is good, but what they uſe.
So Plutarch's Gryllus argues, (turn'd a ſwine)
Againſt the laws that wit and arts refine;
Affirms that man, too curiouſly nice,
Bought his poor reaſon at too dear a price;
Since all his actions limited muſt be,
By meaſur'd rules, when beaſts have liberty;
And unconfin'd on nature's common feed,
No lawyer, no phyſician, taylor need.
Cloaths are but marks of ſhame, med'cines but ſhow
Diſeaſes, and we laws to quarrels owe:
Cooks are the inſtruments of luxury,
Painters of luſt, builders of vanity.
Let all then live as nature them produc'd,
And frame their manners as they have been us'd.

'Tis moſt ſtrange that a creature who hath any thing of reaſon in him, ſhould thus degenerate, thus plead, or thus do; but it is moſt true in theſe, as of millions more of brutiſh Heathens in the world, who live as if they had nothing at all of man left in them.

For man, the worſt of brutes when chang'd to beaſt,
Counts to be civiliz'd, to be oppreſt;

And as he tames hawks, and makes lions mild,
By education; ſo himſelf grows wild.

After this fellow was returned, it made the natives moſt ſhy of us when we arrived there; for though they would come about us in great companies when we were new come thither; yet three or four days before they conceiv'd we would depart thence, there was not one of them to be ſeen; fearing belike we would have dealt with ſome more of them, as formerly we had done with Cooree. But it had been well if he had not ſeen England; for as he diſcovered nothing to us, ſo certainly when he came home, he told his country-men (having doubtleſs obſerved ſo much here) that braſs was but a baſe and cheap commodity in England; and happily we had ſo well ſtored them with that metal before, that we had never after ſuch a free exchange of our braſs and iron for their cattle. It was here that I aſked Cooree who was their God? he lifting up his hands anſwered thus, in his bad Engliſh,—"England God, great God, Souldania no God."

Now if any one deſires to know under whoſe command theſe brutes live, or whether they have any ſuperiority or ſubordination amongſt themſelves, or whether they live with their females in common, with many other queſtions that might be put, I am not able to ſatisfy them; but this I look upon as a great happineſs, not to be born one of them; and as great, nay a far

greater

greater miſery, to fall from the loins of civil and Chriſtian parents, and after to degenerate into all brutiſhneſs, as very many do, *qui gentes agunt ſub nomine Chriſtianorum*; the thing which Tertullian did moſt ſadly bewail in many of his time, who did act Atheiſm under the name of Chriſtianity, and did even ſhame religion by their light and looſe profeſſing of it. When Anacharſis, the philoſopher, was ſome time upbraided with this, that he was a Scythian by birth; he preſently returned this quick and ſmart anſwer unto him that caſt that in his teeth; *Mihi quidem patria eſt dedecus, tu autem patriæ*; my country indeed is ſome diſparagement to me, but thou art a diſgrace to thy country, as there may be many thouſands more beſide, who are very burdens to the good places that give them breath and bread. Alas, Turky, and Barbary, and theſe Africans, with many millions more in that part of the world, and in America and in Aſia, aye and Europe too, would wring their hands into pieces, if they were truly ſenſible of their condition, becauſe they know ſo little: And ſo ſhall infinite numbers more one day, born in the viſible church of God, *in the valley of viſions*, Iſ. 22, v. 1, have their very hearts broken into ſhivers, becauſe they knew ſo much, or might have known ſo much, and have known and done ſo little; for without all doubt, the day will one day come, when they who have ſinned againſt the ſtrongeſt means of grace and ſal-

vation, ſhall feel the heavieſt miſery, when their means to know God, in his will revealed in his word, ſhall be put in one ballance, and their improvement of this means by their practice in the other; and if there have not been ſome good proportion betwixt theſe two, manifeſted in their lives, what hath been wanting in their practice ſhall be made up in their puniſhment. But I would not here more digreſs; I have one thing more, which accidentally relates to this place, and then I will leave it.

In the year 1614 ten Engliſh men having received the ſentence of death for their ſeveral crimes, at the ſeſſions-houſe in the Old-Baily, at London, had their execution reſpited, by the intreaty of the Eaſt-India merchants, upon condition that they ſhould be all baniſhed to this place; to the end (if they could find any peaceable abode there) they might diſcover ſomething advantageous to their trade; and this was accordingly done: But two of them, when they came thither, were taken thence, and carried on the voyage; one, whoſe ſirname was Duffield, by Sir Tho. Row, that year ſent ambaſſador to the Great Mogul; that fellow, thus redeem'd from a moſt ſad baniſhment, was afterward brought back again into England, by that noble gentleman, and here being intruſted by him, ſtole ſome of his plate and ran away; another was carried on the voyage likewiſe, but what became of him afterward I know not.

not. So that there remained eight, which were there left, with ſome ammunition and victuals, with a ſmall boat, to carry them to and from a very little uninhabited iſland, lying in the very mouth of that bay, a place for their retreat and ſafety from the natives on the main. The iſland called Pen-guin iſland, probably ſo named at firſt by ſome Welſhmen, in whoſe language Pen-guin ſignifies a white head, and there are very many great lazy fowls upon and about this iſland, with great coal-black bodies, and very white heads, called Pen-guins. The chief man of the eight there left, was ſirnamed Croſs, who took the name of Capt. Croſs; he was formerly a yeoman of the guard unto King James, but having had his hand in blood twice or thrice, by men ſlain by him in ſeveral duels, and now being condemned to die with the reſt, upon very great ſuit made for him he was hither baniſhed with them; whither the juſtice of almighty God was diſpatched after him, as it were in a whirlwind, and followed him cloſe at the very heels, and overtook him, and left him not 'till he had paid dear for that blood he had formerly ſpilt. This Croſs was a very ſtout, and a very reſolute man, who quarrelling with and abuſing the natives, and engaging himſelf far amongſt them, immediately after himſelf and the reſt were left in that place, many of theſe ſavages being got together, fell upon him, and with their darts thrown, and

arrows

arrows ſhot at him, ſtuck his body ſo full of them, as if he had been larded with darts and arrows, making him look like the figure of the man in the almanack, that ſeems to be wounded in every part; or like that man deſcribed by Lucan, *totum pro vulnere corpus*, who was all wound, where blood touched blood. The retaliations of the Lord are ſure and juſt; he that is mercy itſelf abhors cruelty above all other ſins; he cannot endure that one man ſhould devour another, as the beaſts of the field, birds of the air, fiſhes of the ſea do, and therefore uſually ſhews exemplary, ſignal revenges for that ſin of blood, ſelling it at a dear rate unto them that ſhed it. Every ſin hath a tongue, but that of blood outcries and drowns the reſt; blood being a clamorous and a reſtleſs ſuitor, whoſe mouth will not be ſtopt 'till it receive an anſwer, as it did here. The other ſeven, the reſt of theſe miſerable banditti, who were there with Croſs, recovered their boat, and got off the ſhore, without any great hurt, and ſo rowing to their iſland, the waves running high, they ſplit their boat at their landing, which engaged them to keep in that place, they having now no poſſible means left to ſtir thence. And, which made their condition while they were in it moſt extremely miſerable, it is a place wherein grows never a tree, either for ſuſtenance or ſhelter, or ſhade, nor any thing beſide (I ever heard of) to help ſuſtain nature; a place that hath

hath never a drop of freſh water in it, but what the ſhowers leave in the holes of the rocks. And beſides all this, there are a very great number of ſnakes in that iſland, (as I have been told by many that have been upon it) ſo many of thoſe venomous worms, that a man cannot tread ſafely in the long graſs which grows in it, for fear of them. And all theſe put together, muſt needs make that place uncomfortable to theſe wretched men. To this may be added their want of proviſion, having nothing but dry biſket, and no great quantity of that; ſo that they lived with hungry bellies, without any place fit for repoſe, without any quiet reſt, for they could not chooſe but ſleep in fear continually; and what outward condition could make men more miſerable than this? Yet notwithſtanding all they ſuffered, theſe ſeven vile wretches all lived to be made examples afterward of divine juſtice; for after they had continued in, and endured this ſad place for the ſpace of five or ſix months, and they were grown all even almoſt mad by reaſon of their ſeveral preſſing wants and extremities, it pleaſed God by providence to bring an Engliſh ſhip into that road, returning for England. Four of theſe ſeven men, being impatient of any more hours ſtay there, immediately after that ſhip was come in, made a float with the ruins of their ſplit boat, which they had ſaved together, and with other wood which they had gotten thither, and with ravel'd

vel'd and untwiſted boat-ropes, faſten'd as well as they could all together (for there are no ſuch ſudden teachers and inſtructors as extremities are.) Theſe four got upon the float, which they had thus prepared, and poiſing it as well as they could by their ſeveral weight, hoped by the benefit of their oars, and ſtrength of the tide, (that then ran quick toward the ſhip newly arrived) they might recover it; but this their expectation failed them, for it being late in the day when they made this attempt, and they, not diſcovered by the ſhip, which then rode a good way up in the bay, before they could come up near unto her, the tide return'd, and ſo carried them back into the main ſea, where they all periſhed miſerably. The day following the ſhip ſent a boat to the iſland, which took thoſe three yet ſurviving into her, as the other four might have been, if they could have exerciſed their patience for one night longer. Theſe ſurvivors came aboard the ſhip, and related all that had befallen to their fellows. But theſe three, notwithſtanding all their former miſeries, when they were taken into the ſhip behaved themſelves ſo lewdly, as they returned homeward, that they were very often put into the bilboes, or ſhip's ſtocks, in the way returning, and otherwiſe many times puniſhed for their great and ſeveral miſdemeanors: At laſt the ſhip being ſafely returned into the Downs, ſhe had not been there at anchor above three hours,

hours, but theſe three villains got on ſhore; and they had not been aſhore above three hours, but they took a purſe, and a very few hours after were apprehended and all taken for that fact; and ſuddenly after that, their very foul ſtory being related to the Lord Chief Juſtice, and they looked upon as men altogether incorrigible, and uncapable of amendment by leſſer corrections, by his ſpecial warrant were executed upon their former condemnation (for which they were baniſhed, not to return hither again, but never pardoned) near Sandwich, in Kent, where they committed the robbery. From whoſe example we may learn, that it is not in the power of any affliction, how heavy ſoever it light, and how long ſoever it lie, if it be not ſanctified, to do any man good; that when the rod is upon a man, if he be not taught as well as chaſtned, all the ſtripes beſtowed upon him are caſt away. A man might have hoped that theſe wretched fellows had been long enough in the fire to have purged away their droſs. But afflictions, like fire, harden as well as ſoften; and experience teaches us, that the winds and waves, though they beat with their greateſt violence upon the rocks, yet leave them as they found them, unmoveable; it being a moſt tried truth recorded by Solomon, Prov. 27, v. 22, That bray or beat a fool in a mortar, he will not leave his fooliſhneſs; but as he was put in, ſo will come out, a fool.

The

The year following we carried there three more condemned perſons, to be left in this place; but they hearing of the ill ſucceſs of their predeceſſors, and that it was very unlikely for them to find any ſafe footing here, when we were ready to depart thence, and to leave them on the ſhore, they all came and preſented themſelves on their knees, with tears in their eyes, to our chief commander, Capt. Joſeph, moſt humbly beſeeching him, that he would give orders that they might be hanged before he departed, in that place, which they much rather choſe, than to be there left. We thought it was a very ſad ſight to behold three men in ſuch a condition, that made them eſteem hanging to be mercy. Our commander told them, that he had no commiſſion to execute them, but to leave them there, and ſo he muſt do; and ſo believed he had done; but our fifth ſhip, the Swan, ſtaying in this place after us a day or two, took theſe poor men into her, and then took her courſe for Bantam, whither ſhe was bound: And the Roſe, our laſt ſhip, whoſe ſight and company we loſt in that moſt violent ſtorm before mentioned, at the beginning of our voyage, was ſafely preſerved, and happily afterward found her way to Bantam likewiſe.

We made our abode in this harbour 'till the 28th following; on which day we being well watered and refreſhed, departed. And the 29th we doubled the Cape of Good Hope, whoſe latitude is 35 degrees ſouth. Off this Cape

Cape there ſetteth continually a moſt violent current weſtward; whence it comes to paſs, that when a ſtrong contrary wind meets it (as often-times it doth) their impetuous oppoſition makes the ſea ſo to rage, as that ſome ſhips have been ſwallowed, but many more very much endangered, amongſt theſe huge mountains of water, and very few ſhips paſs that way without a ſtorm. We kept on in a circular courſe to gain a ſouth-weſt wind; for ye muſt know, that the wind in thoſe parts, and ſo in Eaſt-India, blows (and but with a very little variation) half the year ſouth-weſt, and the other half north-eaſt. We ſailed here ſoutherly, 'till we had raiſed the ſouth pole almoſt forty degrees above the horizon. This pole is a conſtellation of four ſtars, the mariners call the *croſiers*; theſe ſtars appear near one another, like a croſs, and almoſt equidiſtant; and while we had the view of this pole, the ſun (as it muſt needs be) was north at noon unto us.

The 22d of July we diſcovered the great iſland Madagaſcar, commonly called St. Laurence, we being then betwixt it and the African ſhore; which iſland lies almoſt every part of it under, or within the ſouthern tropick: We touched not at it, but this I dare ſay from the credit of others who have been upon it, that as it is an exceeding great iſland, (if not the greateſt in the known world) ſo is it ſtored with abundance of very excellent good

proviſions,

proviſions, though inhabited by a barbarous and heatheniſh people, but ſtout and warlike, and very numerous.

Over againſt this iſland, on the main continent of Africa, are Zefala, and Mozambique, whereon the Portugueſe have got ſome footing; the places (as may be ſtrongly ſuppoſed) whither Solomon ſent his navy of ſhips, built at Eziongebar, which ſtood on the banks of the red ſea, in Arabia the Happy, the country of that famous Queen of the South, who hearing of the wiſdom and renown, took her journey thence to viſit the court of King Solomon, *who had underſtanding like a flood.* From that place before named Solomon ſent his ſhips for gold and ſilver and ivory, *&c.* 1. King. 10, 22, they coaſting all along the ſhore of Africa; for in the days of Solomon the art of navigation was not known; and ſeamen then ſteering without chart or compaſs, were neceſſitated to keep the neighbouring land always in their ſights, as without queſtion thoſe ſhips did, and to thoſe fore-mentioned places, ſtored (as is related above) other parts of Africa with thoſe richeſt commodities.

I might have taken notice before, (but yet it will not be unſeaſonable) of many ſudden, ſtrong, and violent guſts of wind, frequently to be obſerved in thoſe ſouth-weſt ſeas, which ſurprize a ſhip ſo ſuddenly, that if ſhe have many ſails abroad, and the mariners be not very watchful and nimble to ſtrike them, their ſtrength

ſtrength is ſuch, that they will endanger her overturning; and to theſe there are many ſtrange watry clouds, they call Spouts, which appear like a funnel, or water tankard, very large and big at one end, but ſmall at the other, which hangs loweſt, and of a very great length; they contain a great quantity of water, wrapt together by a whirl-wind, that falls within a very narrow compaſs; the abundance whereof, by its great weight, if it fall directly (as ſometimes it doth) upon the body of a ſmall ſhip, it will much endanger it, and would do much more harm, but that theſe ſpouts, when they are ſeen, may be eaſily avoided.

From the iſland Madagaſcar, we proceeded on in our courſe, and the 5th of Auguſt following, approached near the little iſlands of Mohilia, Gazidia, St. John de Caſtro, with ſome others, whoſe names I have not, called in general the iſlands of Comora, lying about 12 degrees ſouth of the Equator.

The day following, being the 6th of Aug. early in the morning, our men looking out for land, eſpied a ſail which ſtood directly in our courſe, but far before us; at firſt ſight ſhe appeared as if there had been ſome great hill interpoſed betwixt us; for firſt, we had ſight only of her colours in her high main-top, after this of her maſts and ſails, and then of her hull; after which manner, ſhips at ſea do every where appear at great diſtance one to

another; which proves that that mighty collection of waters, called ſeas, have a convex, or globous and round body, placed by almighty God, as it were in hills, or heaps, and being above the earth, and higher than it, they have ſet limits, and commanded they are to their bounds, contrary to their nature, which they may not paſs; for ſo ſaith the Pſalmiſt, Pſ. 104, 9, "Thou haſt ſet a bound which they may not paſs over, that they return not again to cover the earth." But this is known to all that have been at ſea, therefore we proceed. Upon the firſt ſight of that ſhip, we were all glad of the object, improving all endeavours we could to overtake her, withal preparing our great ordnance, that if ſhe were a friend, we might ſalute her, if an enemy be in readineſs for her. So eagerly purſuing this unlooked-for ſhip with the wings of the wind, after we had given her chace about five hours, her colours and bulk diſcovered her to be a very great Portugal carrack, bound for Goa, lying in the ſkirts of East-India, and principally inhabited by Portugheſe, the city of reſidence for the Vice-Roy to the King of Spain, her commander called Don Emanuel de Meneces, a brave reſolute man, as the ſequent will demonſtrate. About noon the Globe, our leaſt ſhip, (by reaſon of her nimbleneſs, ſailing better than her fellows) came up with her on her broadſide to windward, and according to the cuſtom of the ſea, hailed her, aſking whence

ſhe

ſhe was? ſhe anſwered indirectly of the ſea, calling our men rogues, thieves, hereticks, devils; and the concluſion of her rude compliment was, in loud cannon language, diſcharging ſeven great pieces of artillery at our Globe, (though ſhe had very little reaſon ſo to do, we having four ſhips in company, and ſhe alone) whereof ſix pierced her through the hull, maiming ſome of her men, but killing none. Our Globe replied in the ſame voice, and after that fell off.

About three of the clock in the afternoon, the Charles, our Admiral, came up with her, ſo near, that we were within piſtol ſhot; our commander, Captain Joſeph, proceeded religiouſly, in offering them a treaty, before he proceeded to revenge; ſo we ſaluted her with our trumpets, ſhe with her wind inſtruments, then we ſhewed our men on both ſides aloft; this done, our commander called to them, requiring theirs to come on board, to give an account for the injury they had lately before offered us; they anſwered, they had never a boat; our commander replied, that he would ſend them one, and immediately cauſed his barge to be manned, and ſent off to them, which brought back one of their officers, and two others of inferior rank, with this meſſage from the Captain, how that he had promiſed the King of Spain, his maſter, not to leave his ſhip, and therefore forc'd he might, but never would b ecommanded out of her; Cap-

tain Joſeph received the meſſage, and uſed thoſe that brought it civilly; and then ordered that they ſhould be ſhewed (in a broadſide of great guns, that lay all ready prim'd to be fir'd againſt them) how we were prepared to vindicate ourſelves, which put the poor Portugueſe in a fit of trembling, and upon it deſir'd our commander to write a few words to theirs, that happily with their perſuaſion might make him come; Captain Joſeph, willing to preſerve his honour, and to prevent blood, conſented, and forthwith cauſed a few lines in Spaniſh, to this effect, to be wrote unto him:

"That whereas he, the commander of the carrack, had offered violence to our ſhip that ſailed peaceably by him, he will'd him to come preſently, and give reaſon for that wrong, or elſe at his peril."

So he diſcharged thoſe Portugueſe, ſending one of our maſter's mates back with them, with theſe few words, and this further meſſage, "that if he refuſed to come, he would ſink by his ſide, but that he would force him before he left him;" *morientium verba ſunt prophetica*, his words came to paſs, for he himſelf ſuddenly after, fell by a great ſhot that came from the carrack's ſide. The commander of the carrack, notwithſtanding the meſſage and menace ſent to him, was ſtill peremptory in his firſt anſwer: So our men returning, Captain Joſeph himſelf made the three firſt ſhot at them, all which (the mark being ſo fair and near)

near) hit them; this done, the bullets began to fly on both ſides, our captain encouraging his company, immediately aſcended the half-deck, the place where commanders uſe to keep in thoſe encounters, to ſhew their own gallantry and to encourage the company under their command; where he had not been the eighth part of an hour e're a great ſhot from the carrack's quarter deprived him of life in the twinkling of an eye. For this Captain Joſeph, he was certainly one who had very much of a man in him for years antient, who had commanded before in ſea-fights, which he met withal within the Streights in the Midland Sea, and near death many times in them, which took others round about him, while himſelf went off untouch'd; and the reaſon was, becauſe his appointed time for dying was not yet come. Certainly there is never a bullet flies, that carries not a commiſſion with it to hit or miſs, to kill or ſpare; the time, the place, and every circumſtance beſides of a man's diſſolution, is fore-determined. That one dies in the field, another in his bed, one on the ſea, another on the ſhore, one by ſickneſs, another by violence, one in his own, another in a foreign nation, is fore-decreed in Heaven; the time of every man's change being ſet to a minute, which he muſt not paſs. And though we hear it not vocally, yet almighty God calls every one by his name, and ſaith to one, die thou there; and to another, die thou yonder:

Whence it was, that the place where our commander then ſtood, waving his ſword, muſt of neceſſity be the ſtage of his preſent mortality. Before what his purpoſes were in relation to his enemy with whom he now encountred, I know not; but his thoughts, whatever they were, in the ſhorteſt moment of time periſhed. Death ſurprizing him now ſwifter than thought; ſo that in his own perſon he could do his enemy now no more hurt; for dead lions bite not. The bullet which carried away his life, hit him on the breaſt, beating out of his body his heart, and other of his vitals, which lay round about him ſcattered in his diffuſed blood. A runner is tried by a race, a pilot by a tempeſt, a commander, whether at ſea or land, by a battle, and, *Ducem oportet in acie mori.*

— A captain no where dies,
Better, than in the face of enemies.

Yet, as Sophocles ſometimes ſpake of Philoctetes, that he kill'd others gloriouſly when he was ſlain himſelf: So the blood of this reſolute commander was more than ſufficiently revenged, as will appear by the conſequence, in the fall and ruin of moſt of his provoking enemies.

After Captain Joſeph was ſlain, the maſter of our ſhip continued the fight about half an hour, then (knowing there was another to be admitted into that prime place of command) the

the night approaching, for that time gave over, putting out a flag of council, to call the captain of the vice Admiral, (Capt. Henry Pepwell) who was to succeed, and the other commanders, aboard, to consult about the prosecution of this encounter. The night being come, we now proceeded no further. The carrack stood still on her course, putting forth a light in her popp for us to follow her, and about midnight came to an anchor under the island of Mohilia, which when we perceived, we let fall our anchors too.

The 7th, early before it began to dawn, we prepared for a new assault; first commending ourselves in prayer to almighty God, who doth whatsoever he pleaseth "in Heaven and in Earth, in the Sea, and in all places." Ps. 135, 6; towards the close of which exercise, I spake some words of exhortation and encouragement to all the people of the ship there together assembled; but was presently outrhetorick'd by our new commander, who spake to the company thus: "My masters, I have never a speech to make unto you, but to speak to the cooper to give every one of you a good cup of sack, and so God bless us." Here was a speech indeed, that was short and sweet, that had something following it to make it most savoury, that it might be tasted as well as heard. Mine was verbal, without any such relish, and therefore I forbear to insert it.

The morning come, we found the carrack so close to the shore, and the nearest of our

ſhips at leaſt a league off, that we held our hands for that day, expecting when ſhe would weigh her anchors and ſtand off to ſea, a fitter place to deal with her. And that afternoon we cheſted our late ſlain commander, putting ſome great ſhot with him into it, that he might preſently ſink, and without any ceremony of guns, &c. uſual upon ſuch occaſions, becauſe our enemy ſhould take no notice, put him overboard againſt the iſland of Mohilia, where he made his own grave, as all dead bodies do, buried not in duſt but water, which ſhall one day as well as the earth "give up its dead," Rev. 20, 13, when all the bodies of men ſince the world began, that have taſted death in their ſeveral generations, however after death they have been beſtowed, whereſoever laid up, ſhall be raiſed again; and though all would not, yet all muſt.

A little before night that preſent day, the carrack departed again to ſea; we all looſed our anchors, opened our ſails, and followed. The day now left us, and our proud adverſary, unwilling as it ſhould ſeem to eſcape, put forth a light (as before) for us to follow him, as afterward we did to purpoſe. The night well-nigh ſpent, we commended again ourſelves and cauſe to God; when I obſerved more ſeeming devotion in our ſeamen that morning, than at any time before, or after, while I kept them company; who, for the generality, are ſuch a kind of people, that nothing will bow them,

to

to bring them on their knees, but extreme hazards. When this exerciſe was ended, the day began to appear in a red mantle, which proved bloody unto many that beheld it. And now we entered upon a ſecond encounter, our four ſhips reſolving to take their turns one after the other, that we might compel this proud Portugueſe either to bend or break.

But before I ſhall give an account of our further engagement, I will take notice of two accidents which to me ſeemed very obſervable, and exemplary; the firſt this: There was one in our ſhip, whoſe ſirname was Raven (a ſervant to our late ſlain commander) who immediately before we began to engage, came to me and told me that he had a great deſire to follow his maſter; with what mind he ſpake this I know not, but if heartily and with deſire, his ſpeech was very ill; for if it be an extreme madneſs for a man to intreat God to take away the life of his beaſt, much more to requeſt him to take away his own life. But whatſoever his petition was in reſpect of his inward deſire, it pleaſed almighty God preſently to anſwer him herein, by the firſt great ſhot that came from the enemy, which ſtruck off his head. A man may hope to ſpeed well, that knows how to petition well; but by the righteous judgment of God it oftentimes falls out, that ſuch unadviſed requeſts meet with a return of moſt ſad and unwelcome anſwers.

There

There was another, a taylor, (but not in our ſhip) who while the company he ſailed with were engaged, brought his preſſing iron to one of the gunners, and deſired him to put it into a piece of ordnance already laden, telling him that he would ſend it as a token to the Portugueſe, withal ſwearing that he would never work again at his trade; it pleaſed God immediately after to ſentence him out of his own mouth, and to let his tongue to fall upon himſelf; for that great piece was no ſooner diſcharged, but a great bullet was returned from the enemy, which ſtruck him dead.

And now reader thou may'ſt ſuppoſe us ſpeaking again to our adverſary, and he to us, in the harſheſt and loudeſt of all dialects, no arguments being ſo ſtrong as thoſe that proceed from the mouths of guns and points of ſwords. Our Charles, the Admiral, played her part firſt; and e're ſhe had been at defiance with her enemy half an hour, there came another great ſhot from him, which hitting againſt one of our iron pieces mounted on our half-deck, brake it into many little parts, which moſt dangerouſly wounded our new commander and the maſter of our ſhip, with three others beſides, who received ſeveral hurts by it. Captain Pepwell's left eye, by a glance of a piece of that broken bullet, was ſo torn, that it lay like rags upon his cheek; another hurt by a piece of the ſame bullet he received on his jaw-bone; and by another on his head;

and

and a fourth hurt he received in his leg, a ragged piece of that broken ſhot ſticking faſt betwixt the two bones thereof, grating there upon an artery, which ſeemed by his complaining to afflict him ſo much, that it made him take very little notice of all the reſt of his hurts, it being moſt true of bodily pains, that the extremity of a greater pain will not ſuffer a man much to feel and complain of that which is leſs; as that tormenting pain by the tooth-ach makes a man inſenſible of the aching of his head; and when the gout and ſtone ſurprize the body at once together, the torture by the gout is as it were loſt in the extremity of the ſtone.

And thus was our new commander welcomed to his authority; we all thought that his wounds would very ſuddenly have made an end of him, but he lived 'till about fourteen months after, and then died as he was returning for England. I told you before that this man ſuffered not alone by the ſcattered pieces of that broken ſhot, for the maſter of the ſhip had a great piece of the brawn of his arm ſtruck off by it, which made him likewiſe unſerviceable for a time, and three others of the common ſailors received ſeveral and dangerous hurts by it likewiſe.

The Captain and Maſter both thus diſabled, deputed their authority to the chief maſter's mate, who behaved himſelf reſolutely and wiſely; ſo we continued *alternis vicibus*, one after

after the other, ſhooting at our adverſary, as at a butt, and by three of the clock in the afternoon had ſhot down her main-maſt by the board, her mizen-maſts, her fore-top-maſt, and moreover had made ſuch breaches in her thick ſides, that her caſe ſeemed ſo deſperate, as that ſhe muſt either yield or periſh. Her Captain thus diſtreſſed, ſtood in for the ſhore, being not far from the iſland of Gazidia; we purſued as far as we durſt, without danger of ſhip-wreck, then we ſent off a boat with a flag of truce to ſpeak to him, he waved us with another; upon which Mr. Connick, our chief Merchant employed in that ſervice, came up to them, and being invited, entered their ſhip, where he was civilly uſed, and there he delivered this meſſage to the chief commander and his company, that he had brought them life and peace, if they would accept it, withal telling them, that they had deſerved ſo well by their undaunted valour, that if they would put themſelves into our hands they ſhould be entertained with all honour and reſpect; how the ordinary ſort of the carrack were taken with this proffer, I know not, yet all this would not work upon that high reſolv'd commander, who like Fabricius in Tully, could not be turn'd in the leaſt meaſure from his former and firm reſolution: But

Duris ut Ilex tonſa bipennibus
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,

Per

Per damna, per cædes, ab ipſo
Ducit opes animumque ferro. Hor.

As the lopt holm-tree, that is made
By two edg'd bills to part with ſhade,
Growing in Algid's fertile grounds,
New life receives, and ſtrength from wounds.

So he contemning the miſery he could not prevent; or like a prun'd hedge, which grows ſtronger by cutting, anſwering our meſſenger thus, that no infelicity ſhould make him alter his firſt reſolution, and therefore muſt not be talk'd out of the ſhip; that he would ſtand off to ſea, if poſſibly he could, and fight us again; and then if fire or ſword forc'd him, he might unhappily be taken, but he would never yield; and if we took him alive, he hoped to find the reſpect of a gentleman; and 'till then we had our anſwer. So our meſſenger was diſcharged, and ſhortly after this diſtreſſed ſhip wanting her wings, was forced by the wind and waves upon the adjacent iſland of Gazidia, where ſhe ſtuck faſt between two rocks; thoſe that were left alive in her, by their boats got upon the ſhore, which when they had all recovered, willing (as it ſhould ſeem) to deſtroy what they could not keep, they ſet her on fire, to make her a coal, rather than we ſhould make her a prize. She was a ſhip of an exceeding great value in coin and bullion, beſides many other rich commodities (if report afterwards abuſed us not); but we

got

got nothing from her but blows, for which ſhe was repaid by us with ruin. The poor diſtreſſed Portugueſe, after they had left their ſhip, were moſt inhumanly uſed by the barbarous iſlanders, who ſpoiled them of all they brought on ſhore for their ſuccour, ſome of them finding death in the place they choſe to eſcape it; and doubtleſs they had made havock of them all, had they not preſently been relieved by two Arabian Junks (for ſo their ſmall ill built ſhips are called) there in trade; which, in hope I ſuppoſe of ſome great reward, took them in, and conveyed them ſafely to their own city, Goa.

In this ſea fight we loſt, out of our four ſhips, but five men; three out of our Admiral, and two out of our James; beſides we had about twenty in our whole fleet hurt; but of ſeven hundred which ſailed in the carrack, (for ſhe was a ſhip of an exceeding great bulk and burthen, our Charles, though a ſhip of a thouſand tons, looking but like a pinnace when ſhe was beſide her) there came not near half her company to Goa, as afterward we were informed.

Our Charles, in this oppoſition, made at her adverſary, for her part, three hundred and ſeventy-five great ſhot (as our gunners reported); to theſe we had one hundred muſketeers, that plied them with ſmall ſhot all that while; neither was our enemy idle, for our ſhip received from him at leaſt one hundred

dred great ſhot, and many of them dangerous ones through the hull. Our fore-maſt was pierced through the middle, our main-maſt hurt, our main-ſtay almoſt ſpoiled, and many of our main-ſhrouds cut aſunder.

Thus, reader, thou haſt the ſum of that ſea-encounter, which I did the rather inſert, becauſe I believe that of all warlike oppoſitions there are none that carry more horror in them than ſea fights do, if the parties engaged be both very reſolute, as very many who uſe the ſea are, who will deſperately run upon the mouth of a cannon, ruſh into the very jaws of death, before they have at all learned what it was to live; that being moſt true, which was antiently obſerved in the generality both of ſoldiers and ſeamen, *Armatis Divum nullus timor*, that they fear neither God nor Man. And therefore when I ſeriouſly conſider of the terrors which uſually accompany this kind of fighting, I do more pity and leſs wonder at the behaviour of a poor Scotch merchant in ſuch an encounter, who obſerving the bullets to make quick returns, gets into his cabin, and there covered himſelf as cloſe as he could; but being purſued thither by his own fears, which he could not keep thence, they made his lower paſſages both to open, and then feeling himſelf in thoſe parts more warm and moiſt than uſually he was, cried out, *Ice ſtene, Ice ſtene, Ice all gear blud*; yet when he was ſearched, his hurts proved not mortal. But in good

good earneſt, there is no oppoſition in the world ſo full of dread as this; and no contentions 'twixt men and men carry them ſo far out of themſelves, and make them turn ſo ſavage, as theſe.

When men act wolves parts, where their higheſt
ſkill
Expreſſed is by knowledge how to kill;
One bullet throws a leg into the main,
An arm that follows it, as if again
(Like a ſwift poſt) in winged haſte it meant
To fetch it back to th' parts from which 'twas rent.
In a torn carcaſe one here lodges, crying,
And at his feet there others gaſp a dying:
Here goes a head, and there a heart is made
Its lodging to forſake, and fly to's ſhade.
Of all encounters, there are none ſo fell
As fights at ſea, where nought but horrors dwell.
'Mongſt all the arts of killing, none more dire
Than theſe by bullets, wracks, noiſe, ſword, and
fire.

I want words to expreſs the extreme horror that is to be obſerved in theſe ſea fights, where fire like lightning darts into mens eyes, and the over-loud cracks of great ordnance like thunder roars in their ears, beſides the noiſe made by muſkets, drums, and fifes, with men hurrying up and down the ſhip, in a confuſed tumult, wrapt about in a thick cloud of ſuffocating ſmoak made by the powder. Here a bullet comes, and leaves death behind it, and

there

there ſplinters kill and maim others; ſo that a man in this caſe is many times as if he were placed in the midſt of a beam holding two ballances, where the one ſcale hangs over the fire, and over the water the other: For it often falls out in theſe encounters, that by ſinking or firing a ſhip, a man is put to this moſt miſerable choice, either to burn, or drown; and in theſe extremities there is no eſcaping by flight, as in field-battles: And therefore, though it be eaſy and ſafe to ſail in the harbour, or to ſit upon the ſhore, and there to make theſe moſt ſad conflicts matter of talk, diſcourſe, or merriment, as ſome do, yet I conceive they ſhould not be ſeen or heard of without grief and deteſtation; becauſe the very name of a man implies humanity, which a man forgets to ſhew, when he ſees or hears of the ruin and deſtruction of others with content, who are men like himſelf. It is well obſerved, that almighty God in ſcripture, ſhewing mercy, is oftentimes called by the name of a Man; as Gen. 32, 24 and 29, "A Man wreſtled with Jacob, and bleſſed him"; ſo in many other places: But when God threatens diſpleaſure and vengeance againſt a man, he ſaith, "I will not meet thee as a Man," Iſ. 47, 3; that is, he will ſhew no pity, no compaſſion: Which implies thus much, that they who at any time are wanting in this, deſerve not the names of men, they being without natural affections; appearing to be ſuch, as if

they had been hewn from the rocks, and not fallen from loins of fleſh and blood; as if they had ſucked the dragons in the wilderneſs, rather than daughters of men. But to conclude what I have to ſay of this; if it be very terrible (as indeed it is) to be in the midſt of ſuch encounters as theſe, though a man come off untouched, it is much more to ſmart under the ſad conſequences thereof; it being by much more hard to feel, than it is eaſy to talk of them.

And now, reader, if thou ſhalt be pleaſed to accompany me further, I will carry thee from this ſad diſcourſe, where we may be both refreſhed upon a near rich and pleaſant iſland; and to make way for our entertainment there, take further notice, that after we ſaw the carrack in a flame, (which was about midnight) we ſtood off and on 'till morning, to ſee if any thing might be found in her aſhes; of which when we deſpaired, we ſought about to ſuccour and comfort our wounded and ſick men on the ſhore. The land there was very high, againſt which the ſea is always deep; ſo that it was the 10th day of that month e're we could be poſſeſſed of a good harbour; which enjoyed, we found the iſland, called Mohilia, very pleaſant, full of trees, and exceeding fruitful, abounding in beeves, kids, poultries of divers kinds, rice, ſugar-canes, plantens, (of which fruit more ſhall be ſpoken hereafter) oranges, cocoa-nuts, as with many other wholſome

wholſome things; of all which we had ſufficient to relieve our whole company, for little quantities of white paper, glaſs beads, low-pric'd looking-glaſſes, and cheap knives; for inſtance, we bought as many good oranges as would fill a hat for a quarter of a ſheet of white writing-paper, and ſo in proportion all other proviſions.

Here we had the beſt oranges that ever I taſted, which were little round ones, exceeding ſweet and juicy, having but a little ſpungy ſkin within them, and the rind on them almoſt as thin as the paring of an apple: We ate all together, rind and juice, and found them a fruit that was extraordinary well pleaſing to the taſte.

Much of their fruits the iſlanders brought unto us in their little canoes, (which are long narrow boats, cut like troughs out of firm trees) but their cattle we bought on the ſhore; where I obſerved the people to be ſtrait, well limb'd, ſtout able men, their colour very tawny; moſt of the men, but all the women, I ſaw uncloathed, having nothing about them but a covering for their ſhame: Such as were cloathed, had long garments like unto the Arabians, whoſe language they ſpeak, and of whoſe religion they are, Mahometans, very ſtrict (as it ſhould ſeem) for they would not endure us to come near their churches. They have good convenient houſes for their living, and fair ſepulchres for their dead.

They ſeemed to live ſtrictly under the obedience of a King, whoſe place of reſidence was ſome miles up in the country; his leave by meſſengers they firſt craved, before they would ſell to us any of their beſt proviſions. Their King hearing of our arrival, bad us welcome by a preſent of beeves, goats, and poultry, and the chief and choice fruits of his country; and was highly recompenced, as he thought, again, by a quire or two of white paper, a pair of low-pric'd looking-glaſſes, ſome ſtrings of glaſs beads, ſome cheap knives, with ſome other Engliſh toys.

We ſaw ſome Spaniſh money amongſt them, of which they ſeemed to make ſo little reckoning, that ſome of our men had from them many royals of eight in exchange for a little of thoſe very low and very cheap commodities which before I named.

The cocoa-nut-tree (of which this iſland hath abundance) of all other trees may challenge the pre-eminence; for merely with theſe trees, without the leaſt help of any other timber, or any other thing, (unleſs a little iron work) a man may build and furniſh, and fit and victual a ſmall ſhip to ſea. For the heart of this tree (being very tough, firm, and faſt wood) growing up ſtrait and high, will make timber, planks, pins, maſts, and yards; a ſtrong gum that iſſues out of it, with the rind that grows about it, will ſerve to caulk the ſhip; and that ſpungy rind, which looks like

like our hemp when it is a little bruiſed, will make cordage and ſails; and the very large nuts that grow upon it, (of which are many excellent drinking cups) when it is newly gathered, hath a milk-white ſubſtance that is tender, (taſting like an almond) round about of a good ſubſtance within it; and within that, a very pleaſant liquor, that is wholſome as well as ſavoury, which may for need ſerve thoſe that fail in this ſhip for meat and drink.

Now, well-ſtored with theſe nuts and other good proviſions, after five days abode there, the breaches our ſhip had lately received in fight being repaired, and our men well refreſhed, we put again to ſea the 16th day, and a proſperous gale following us, were carried happily a ſecond time under the Æquinoctial, without the leaſt heat to offend us, the 24th day of the ſame month. Our courſe was for the iſland of Zocotora, near the mouth of the Red Sea, from whence come our aloes Zocotrina; but an adverſe gale from the Arabian ſhore kept us ſo off, that we could by no means recover it. We paſſed by it the 1ſt of September.

Miſſing that port, we proceeded on our voyage, and the 4th of September made a ſolemn funeral in memory of our late ſlain commander, when after ſermon the ſmall ſhot and great ordnance made a large peal to his remembrance.

On the 6th of September, at night, to our admiration and fear, the water of the ſea

ſeemed to us as white as milk; which did not appear only ſo in the body of the ſea, but it looked ſo likewiſe in buckets of water which we did then draw out of the ſea. Others of our nation paſſing on that courſe have obſerved the like; but I am yet to learn what ſhould be the true reaſon thereof, it being there very far from any ſhore, and the ſea ſo deep that we could ſearch no ground.

The 21ſt we diſcovered the main continent of Aſia the Great, in which Eaſt-India takes up a large part. The 22d we had ſight of Deu and Damon, places that lie in the ſkirts of India, principally inhabited and well fortified by Portugueſe: And the 25th of September we came happily to an anchor in Swally Road, within the Bay of Cambaya, the harbour for our fleet while they make their ſtay in theſe remote parts.

Then after a long, troubleſome, and dangerous paſſage, we came at laſt to our deſired port. And immediately after my arrival there, I was ſent for by Sir Thomas Row, Lord Ambaſſador, then reſiding at the Mogul's court, (which was many miles up in the country) to ſupply the room of Mr. John Hall, his chaplain, (Fellow of Corpus Chriſti college in Oxford) whom he had not long before buried; and I lived with that moſt noble gentleman at that court more than two years; after which I returned home to England with him. During which ſpace of my abode there I had very good advantage to take notice of very many

places,

places, perſons, and things, travelling with the Ambaſſador much in progreſs with that King up and down his very large territories.

And now, reader, I would have thee to ſuppoſe me ſetting my foot upon the Eaſt-Indian ſhore, at Swally before named. On the banks whereof, amongſt many more Engliſh that lie there interred, is laid up the body of Mr. Thomas Coryate, a man in his time *Notus nimis omnibus*, very ſufficiently known. He lived there, and there died while I was in thoſe parts, and was for ſome months then with my Lord Embaſſador, during which time he was either my chamber-fellow or tent-mate, which gave me a full acquaintance of him. That Greek-travelling-Thomas (they which know his ſtory, know why I call him ſo) formerly wrote a book, entitled, Coryate's Crudities, printed in the beginning of the year 1611, and then uſhered into the world by very many copies of excellent verſes made by the wits of thoſe times, which did very much advantage and improve, if not enforce the ſale thereof (doing themſelves much more honour than him whom they undertook to commend in their ſeveral encomiaſticks) and if he had lived, he would have written his laſt travels to, and in, and out of Eaſt-India; for he reſolved (if God had ſpared him life) to have rambled up and down the world, as ſometime Ulyſſes did, and though not ſo long as he, yet ten full years at leaſt before his re-

turn home, in which time he purpoſed to ſee Tartaria in the vaſt parts thereof, with as much as he could of China, and thoſe other large places and provinces interpoſed betwixt Eaſt-India and China, whoſe true names we might have had from him, but yet have not. He had a purpoſe after this to have viſited the Court of Preſter John in Æthiopia, who is there called by his own people, *Ho Biot*, the King, and after this it was in his thoughts to have caſt his eyes upon many other places; which if he had done, and lived to write thoſe relations, ſeeing as he did, or ſhould, ſuch variety of Countries, Cities, Nations, Things, and been as particular in them as he was in his Venetian Journal, they muſt needs have ſwoln into ſo many huge volumes, as would have prevented the periſhing of paper. But undoubtedly if he had been continued in life to have written them, there might have been made very good uſe of his obſervations; for as he was a very particular, ſo was he a very faithful relator of things he ſaw; he ever diſclaiming that bold liberty which divers travellers have, and do take, by ſpeaking and writing any thing they pleaſe of remote parts, when they cannot eaſily be contradicted, taking a pride in their feigned relations, to overſpeak things; being reſolved in this caſe

Not only things to do, but o'er do;
Speaking, writing all, and more too.

I

I therefore for my part, believing this relator to be none of thoſe, have taken ſome things from his truſt and credit in this my following diſcourſe; and becauſe he could not live to give an account unto the world of his own travels, I ſhall here by the way make ſome little diſcovery of his *footſteps* and ſittings up and down, to and fro, with ſomething beſides of him in his long peregrinations, to ſatisfy very many yet living, who if they ſhall pleaſe to read this diſcourſe, may recall that man once more into their remembrance, who while he lived was like a perpetual motion, and therefore now dead ſhould not be quite forgotten.

In the year 1612 he ſhipt himſelf from London for Conſtantinople, now called by the Turks *Stombole*, where he took ſpecial notice of all things there moſt obſervable. In which place he found very great reſpect and encouragement from Sir Paul Pinder, then and there Embaſſador, to whoſe houſe he had free and welcome acceſs whenſoever he pleaſed. Being there for ſome time, he took his opportunities to view divers parts in Grecia; and in the Helleſpont took ſpecial notice of thoſe two caſtles directly oppoſed to each other, called Seſtos and Abydos, which ſtand on the ſeveral banks that bound that very narrow ſea; which places Muſæus makes famous in his very antient poem of Hero and Leander.

He deſired much to ſee where thoſe ſeven churches, ſometimes famous in Aſia the Leſs, ſtood;

ſtood; but ſince their ſin ſo darkened their light, and God removed their Candleſticks from them, (as before he threatened) thoſe places lie ſo in the dark, that it cannot be well diſcovered where they once were: Only Smyrna is famous at this preſent day for trade, but not religion; and Epheſus, and ſome others of them, keep their names ſtill, though they left and loſt their faith and profeſſion of truth with the reſt.

He ſaw what yet remains of the ruins of ſometimes great Troy, but

Jam ſeges eſt ubi Troia fuit———

That place which was once ſo populous, as if it had been ſow'n with people,

And ſeeded thus, had after born
Millions of men, now's ſow'n with corn.

And, *O jam periere ruina*, the very ruins of that place are almoſt all gone to ruin: The moſt obſervable thing there yet remaining, is part of an exceeding great houſe, which is continued by tradition to have been ſometimes a part of the famous palace of great King Priamus.

From Smyrna he found a paſſage to Alexandria in Egypt, Egypt that is called by ſome, in regard of the plenty it produceth, the granary or ſtore-houſe of the world; and in Egypt, near Grand-Cairo, (antiently called Memphis)

Memphis) he obſerved what remains of the once fam'd pyramids. Returning thence back to Alexandria, with one Engliſhman more, they found a paſſage by ſea to Jatta, antiently called Joppa, and there they met ſome others going to Jeruſalem, which is about twenty Engliſh miles diſtant from Joppa, whence they departed together towards Jeruſalem, and found it a very ſolitary, rocky, uncomfortable way, full of danger, by reaſon of the wild Arabs who keep about thoſe paſſages, to make poor travellers their prey and ſpoil. But they came ſafe to Jeruſalem, now inhabited by Turks, and that place called by them Cutts; where he told me, that himſelf and his companion were courteouſly received by the father guardian of the convent of the Franciſcan friars, that keep their reſidence in Jeruſalem; and by ſome of them were met at the gate of the city, where they were compelled by the Turkiſh ſoldiers who keep thoſe gates (as all others that bear the name of Chriſtians are, at their firſt coming thither) to redeem their heads, by paying each of them the value of five ſhillings, before they could have admittance into that place; which they had no ſooner entered, but they were preſently carried by thoſe Franciſcans which met them to their convent; and then the firſt thing they did to or for them, they waſhed their feet, then ſet ſome comfortable refection before them, and after went in proceſſion about a little

cloiſter

cloiſter they had, praiſing God that he had brought in ſafety thoſe two votaries (as they called them) to viſit that holy place. A day or two after they accompanied them to Bethlehem, the place of our bleſſed Saviour's birth, about five Engliſh miles diſtant from Jeruſalem; and in the way betwixt thoſe two places ſhewed them a rock, on which (as they ſaid) the bleſſed Virgin ſat down, as ſhe went on a time betwixt Jeruſalem and Bethlehem, to give her babe ſuck, and that the rock might not feel hard under her, it yielded (as they told them) to her body like a cuſhion, and that impreſſion made by her ſo ſitting remaineth unto this day, and is moſt devoutly kiſſed by votaries as they paſs up and down. After this they returning back ſhewed them all that was to be ſeen in and about Jeruſalem. Many particulars they told them (ſtories that are there kept by tradition) concerning our bleſſed Saviour and his mother. Then they had a ſight of as much of Mount Calvary (where our bleſſed Saviour ſuffered) as could be ſhewed them, that hill being now encloſed within the walls of Jeruſalem. They undertook to ſhew them afterwards the place wherein our bleſſed Saviour was buried; and after that, upon Mount Olivet, the very place whence he after aſcended; where upon a rock there was an impreſſion of the former part of two feet, ſuch as is ſeen in ſoft earth, when a man liſts up his body to leap thence; and theſe

Fran-

Franciſcans confidently affirmed, and ſeemed undoubtedly to believe, that it was ſo as they ſhewed and told them. Many other things they affirmed, which being but circumſtances, (though appertaining to the beſt of all ſtories) were enough for theſe Pilgrims to believe, and enough to make doubt of.

At Jeruſalem this our traveller had made upon the wriſts of his left arm the arms of Jeruſalem, a croſs croſſed, or croſslets; and on the wriſt of his right a ſingle croſs made like that our bleſſed Saviour ſuffered on; and on the ſide of the ſtem or tree of that croſs theſe words written, *Via, Veritas, Vita*; ſome of the letters being put on the one ſide of that ſtem or tree, and ſome of them on the other; and at the foot of that croſs three nails, to ſignify thoſe which faſten'd our Saviour unto it: All theſe impreſſions were made by ſharp needles bound together, that pierced only the ſkin, and then a black powder put into the places ſo pierced, which became preſently indelible characters, to continue with him ſo long as his fleſh ſhould be covered with ſkin; and they were done upon his arms ſo artificially as if they had been drawn by ſome accurate Pencil upon parchment. This poor man would pride himſelf very much in the beholding of thoſe characters; and ſeeing them would often ſpeak theſe words of St. Paul, written to the Galatians, Gal. 6, 17, (though far beſides the apoſtle's meaning) "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jeſus."

Now

Now after that himſelf and comrade had ſeen what they deſired in and about Jeruſalem, they took their leave of thoſe Franciſcans, leaving with them money to recompence the courteſy they had received from them; the Friars being very poor, and conſequently unable to entertain them freely without requitals.

From hence they took their way to take a view of the Dead Sea, (ſo called, either becauſe the water therein is ſtill, and moves not, or becauſe no living creature is in it, and nothing thrives on the banks thereof) the place where Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah and Zeboim once ſtood, thoſe cities "which almighty God overthrew in anger, and repented not," Jer. 20, 16. Hence they went to have a ſight of the river Jordan, which diſchargeth itſelf into that moſt uncomfortable lake; and from hence they journied north-eaſt through thoſe ten tribes, (which for the ſin of Solomon were rent from his ſon Rehoboam) 'till they came to Mount Libanus. Thence back to Sidon, which retaineth that name ſtill. And here he told me as his laſt obſervation made in that land of Canaan, ſometimes (like the garden of the Lord) flowing with milk and honey; being then enriched with a very great variety, and abundance of God's good creatures; and in the days of David ſo populous, that there were numbered in it at one time "thirteen hundred thouſand fighting men," 2 Sam. 24, 9, beſides women and children, and

and others unfit to draw ſwords; which was a moſt wonderful thing to conſider, that ſuch a ſpot of ground in compariſon, not above one hundred and ſixty miles in length, from Dan to Beerſheba, and not above ſixty miles in breadth, from Joppa to Jordan, ſhould be able to bear and feed ſuch a numerous people; and now the very ſelf-ſame track of earth, either for want of manuring, or (which is rather to be conceived) for the want of the bleſſing of almighty God, which once ſhined upon it, but now long ſince withdrawn from it, ("*for a fruitful land the Lord maketh barren, for the wickedneſs of them that dwell therein*" Pſal. 107, 34) is now become unable to ſuſtain one in a hundred of ſuch a number.

From Sidon they got a paſſage by ſea unto Alexandretta, now called Scanderoon, (in the extremeſt bottom of the Mediterranean ſea) which is one of the unwholſomeſt places in the world; where I have often heard that no ſtranger (that was born far from it) comes to continue there for the ſpace of one month, but is ſure to meet with a ſickneſs, which very often proves mortal. At this place his Engliſh companion left him, and turned his face towards England; and he preſently took his way towards Aleppo, in Syria, about ſeventy miles or more diſtant from Scanderoon, which is as much renowned for wholſomeneſs, as the place before named for being unwholſome; and therefore it is called ſweet-air'd Aleppo.

Here

Here he being kindly received by the Engliſh conſul, ſtaid a time to gain the company of a caravan, which conſiſts of a great mixt multitude of people from divers parts, which get and keep together travelling thoſe parts, for fear of the incurſions and violences by thieves and murderers, which they would undoubtedly meet withal, if they travelled ſingly, or but few together. With theſe he ſet forwards towards and to that city antiently called Nineveh, in Aſſyria, which we find in the propheſy of Jonah was ſometimes "a great and excellent city of three days journey," Jonah 3, 3; but now ſo exceedingly leſſen'd and lodg'd in obſcurity, that paſſengers cannot ſay of it, this was Nineveh, which now hath its old name changed, and is called Mozel. From hence they journied to Babylon, in Chaldæa, ſituated upon the river Euphrates, once likewiſe ſo great, that Ariſtotle called it a country, not a city, but now it is very much contracted, and 'tis called Bagdat. From this place they proceeded through both the Armenia's, and either did, or elſe our traveller was made to believe, that he ſaw the very mountain Ararat, whereon the "ark of Noah reſted after the flood," Gen. 8. And from hence they went forward towards the kingdom of Perſia, and there to Uzſpahan, the uſual place of reſidence for that great King, then called Sha Abbas, or King Abbas. And after they went to Seras, antiently called Shuſhan, where the great King

Ahaſuerus

Ahaſuerus kept his royal and moſt magnificent court, Eſt. i. From hence they journied afterwards to Candahor, the firſt province north-eaſt under the ſubjection of the Great Mogul, and ſo to Lahore, the chiefeſt city but one belonging to that great empire; a place, as I have been told by Tom. Coryate and others, of very great trade, wealth, and delight, lying more temperately out of the parching ſun than any other of his great cities do; and to this city he wanted not company, nor afterwards to Agra, the Mogul's metropolis or chief city.

And here it is very obſervable, that from Lahore to Agra it is four hundred Engliſh miles, and that the country betwixt both theſe great cities is rich, even, pleaſant and flat, a Campania, and the road way on both ſides all this long diſtance planted with great trees, which are all the year cloathed with leaves, exceeding beneficial unto travellers for the ſhade they afford them in thoſe hot climes. This very much extended length of way twixt theſe two places, is called by travellers the Long Walk, very full of villages and towns for paſſengers every where to find proviſion.

At Agra our traveller made an halt, being there lovingly received in the Engliſh factory, where he ſtaid 'till he had gotten to his Turkiſh, and Moriſco or Arabian languages, ſome good knowledge in the Perſian and Indoſtan

tongues; in which ſtudy he was always very apt, and in little time ſhewed much proficiency. The firſt of thoſe two, the Perſian, is the more quaint; the other, the Indoſtan, the vulgar language ſpoken in East-India: In both theſe he ſuddenly got ſuch a knowledge and maſtery, that it did exceedingly afterwards advantage him in his travels up and down the Mogul's territories, he wearing always the habit of that nation, and ſpeaking their language.

In the firſt of theſe, the Perſian tongue, he made afterwards an oration to the Great Mogul, bringing in that ſtory of the Queen of Sheba, 1 King. 10, (in which parts of that ſacred hiſtory the Mahometans have ſome knowledge) and he told him, that as the Queen of Sheba, having heard of the fame of King Solomon, came from far to viſit him; which when ſhe had done, ſhe confeſſed that though ſhe had heard very much of him, and many things beyond her belief, yet now ſeeing what ſhe did, acknowledged that ſhe had not heard half of that which ſhe now ſaw concerning the wiſdom, greatneſs, retinue, and riches of Solomon: So our orator told the Mogul, that he had heard very much of him before he had the honour to ſee him, (when he was very far off in his own country) but now what he beheld did exceedingly ſurmount all thoſe former reports of him which came to his ears at ſuch a diſtance from him: Then

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larding his ſhort ſpeech with ſome other pieces of flattery, which the Mogul liked well, concluded: And when he had done, the Mogul gave him one hundred roopees, which amounts to the value of twelve pounds and ten ſhillings of our Engliſh money; looking upon him as a Derviſe, or votary, or pilgrim, (for ſo he called him) and ſuch as bear that name in that country ſeem not much to care for money; and that was the reaſon (I conceive) that he gave him not a more plentiful reward.

After this, he having got a great maſtery likewiſe in the Indoſtan, or vulgar language, there was a woman, a laundreſs, belonging to my Lord Ambaſſador's houſe, who had ſuch a freedom and liberty of ſpeech, that ſhe would ſometimes ſcold, brawl, and rail, from the ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet; one day he undertook her in her own language, and by eight of the clock in the morning ſo ſilenced her, that ſhe had not one word more to ſpeak.

I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of this man in ſome paſſages of this following diſcourſe, and therefore ſhall not wrap all I have to ſpeak of him in this, although it be a very long digreſſion: Yet becauſe I muſt now ſhortly bring you to his journies end, I ſhall take the freedom to enlarge myſelf a little further concerning him here in this place, before I leave him for the preſent; and to give thee, reader, a piece of his character, it ſpeaks thus:

That he was a man of a very coveting eye, that could never be ſatisfied with ſeeing, as

Solomon ſpeaks, Eccleſ. 1. 8. though he had ſeen very much; and I am perſuaded that he took as much content in ſeeing, as many others in the enjoying of great and rare things. He was a man that had got the maſtery of many hard languages (as before I obſerved) to the Latin and Greek he brought forth of England with him; in which if he had obtained wiſdom to huſband and manage them, as he had ſkill to ſpeak them, he had deſerved more fame in his generation. But his knowledge and high attainments in ſeveral languages made him not a little ignorant of himſelf, he being ſo covetous, ſo ambitious of praiſe, that he would hear and endure more of it than he could in any meaſure deſerve; being like a ſhip that hath too much ſail, and too little ballaſt: Yet if he had not fall'n into the ſmart hands of the wits of thoſe times, he might have paſſed better. That itch of fame which engaged this man to the undertakings of thoſe very hard, and long, and dangerous travels, hath put thouſands more (and therefore he was not alone in this) into ſtrange attempts only to be talked of.

One long ago built a Temple to Diana, in hope of Glory, intending it for one of the great wonders of the world; another after, in hope of Fame, burnt it. Whither will not the thirſt of fame carry men! It hath made ſome ſeek to climb up to Heaven, though by a wrong way: Thus the builders

of

of Babel ſay one to another, *Let us build us a city, and a tower, whoſe top may reach up to Heaven, and let us make us a Name*, Gen. 11. 4. And it hath made others, who are penurious of their honour, and prodigal of their ſouls, not fear to run down headlong into Hell. 'Twas fame, without doubt, that ſtirred up this man unto theſe voluntary, but hard undertakings, and the hope of that glory which he ſhould reap after he had finiſhed his long travels, made him not at all to take notice of the hardſhip he found in them. That hope of name and repute for the time to come did even feed and feaſt him for the time preſent. And therefore, any thing that did in any meaſure eclipſe him in thoſe high conceivings of his own worth, did too much trouble him, which you may collect from theſe following inſtances.

Upon a time one Mr. Richard Steel, a merchant, and ſervant to the Eaſt-India company, came unto us from Surat to Mandoa, the place then of the Mogul's reſidence, at which time Mr. *Coryate* was there with us: This merchant had not long before travelled over land from Eaſt-India through Perſia, and ſo to Conſtantinople, and ſo for England; who in his travel homeward had met with *Tom. Coryate*, as he was journeying towards Eaſt-India; Mr. Steel then told him, that when he was in England, King James (then living) enquired after him, and when he had certified

the King of his meeting him on the way, the King replied, *Is that fool yet living?* which, when our Pilgrim heard, it ſeemed to trouble him very much, becauſe the King ſpake no more nor no better of him; ſaying, that Kings would ſpeak of poor men what they pleaſed.

At another time, when he was ready to depart from us, my Lord Ambaſſador gave him a letter, and in that a bill to receive ten pounds at Aleppo, when he ſhould return thither: The letter was directed unto Mr. Libbeus Chapman, there Conſul at that time; in which that which concerned our traveller was thus: "Mr. Chapman, when you ſhall hand theſe letters, I deſire you to receive the bearer of them, Mr. Thomas Coryate, with courteſy, for you ſhall find him a very honeſt poor wretch; and further I muſt intreat you to furniſh him with ten pounds, which ſhall be repaid, &c." Our Pilgrim lik'd the gift well, but the language by which he ſhould have receiv'd it, did not at all content him; telling me, that my Lord had even ſpoiled his courteſy in the carriage thereof; ſo that if he had been a very fool indeed, he could have ſaid very little leſs of him than he did, *honeſt poor wretch!* and to ſay no more of him was to ſay as much as nothing. And furthermore he then told me, that when he was formerly undertaking his journey to Venice, a perſon of honour wrote thus in his behalf unto Sir Henry Wotton, then and there Ambaſſador:

"My

"My Lord, good wine needs no bush, neither a worthy man letters commendatory; becauſe whitherſoever he comes he is his own epiſtle, &c." "There (ſaid he) was ſome language on my behalf; but now for my Lord to write nothing of me by way of commendation, but *honeſt poor wretch*, is rather to trouble me than to pleaſe me with his favour." And therefore afterwards his letter was phras'd up to his mind, but he never liv'd to receive the money. By which his old acquaintance may ſee how tender this poor man was to be touched in any thing that might in the leaſt meaſure diſcourage him. O what pains this poor man took to make himſelf a ſubject for preſent and after diſcourſe! being troubled at nothing for the preſent, unleſs with the fear of not living to reap that fruit he was ſo ambitious of in all his undertakings. And certainly he was ſurprized with ſome ſuch thoughts and fears (for ſo he told us afterwards) when upon a time he being at Mandoa with us, and there ſtanding in a room againſt a ſtone pillar, where the Ambaſſador was, and myſelf preſent with them, upon a ſudden he fell into ſuch a ſwoon, that we had very much ado to recover him out of it; but at laſt, when come to himſelf, he told us that ſome ſad thoughts had immediately before preſented themſelves to his fancy, which as he conceived put him into that diſtemper; like Fannius in Martial—*ne moriare mori*, to prevent death by dying, for he told us

that there were great expectations in England of the large accounts he ſhould give of his travels after his return home; and that he was now ſhortly to leave us, and he being at preſent not very well, if he ſhould die in the way toward Surat, whither he was now intended to go, (which place he had not as yet ſeen) he might be buried in obſcurity, and none of his friends ever know what became of him, he travelling now, as he uſually did, alone. Upon which my Lord willed him to ſtay longer with us, but he thankfully refuſed that offer, and turned his face preſently after towards Surat, which was then about three hundred miles diſtant from us, and he lived to come ſafely thither; but there being overkindly uſed by ſome of the Engliſh who gave him Sack, which they had brought from England, he calling for it as ſoon as he heard of it, and crying, "*Sack, Sack*, is there any ſuch thing as *Sack*? I pray you give me ſome *Sack*;" and drinking of it, though I conceive moderately, (for he was a very temperate man) it increaſed his Flux which he had then upon him; and this cauſed him within a few days after his very tedious and troubleſome travels, (for he went moſt on foot) at this place to come to his journies end; for here he overtook Death in the month of December, 1617, and was buried (as aforeſaid) under a little monument, like one of thoſe are uſually made in our Church-yards: On which he ſhould

have

have been remembered by this or the like Epitaph, if it could have been there engraved upon his Tomb.

Here lies the Wanderer of his age,
Who living did rejoice,
Not out of need, but choice,
To make his life a Pilgrimage.

He spent full many precious days,
As if he had his being
To waste his life in seeing;
More thought to spend, to gain him Praise.

Some weaknesses appear'd his stains:
Though some seem very wise,
Some yet are otherwise.
Good gold may be allow'd its grains.

Many the places which he ey'd;
And though he should have been
In all parts yet unseen,
His eye had not been satisfy'd.

To fill it when he found no room,
By the choice things he saw
In Europe and vast Asia,
Fell blinded in this narrow Tomb.

Sic exit Coryatus: Hence he went off the stage, and so must all after him, how long soever their parts seem to be: For if one should go to the extremest part of the world East, another West, another North, and another

nother South, they muſt all meet at laſt together in the Field of Bones, wherein our Traveller hath now taken up his lodging, and where I leave him. And ſhall now proceed to give an account of what I have undertaken and do principally intend in the deſcription of the large territories under the ſubjection of the Great Mogul. Which following diſcourſe (that I may put it into, and after continue it in ſome due order) I ſhall digeſt into ſeveral parts, or ſections: As,

SECTION I.

Of the ſeveral Provinces, the chief Cities, the principal Rivers, the Extent of this vaſt Empire in its Length and Breadth.

THE moſt ſpacious monarchy under the ſubjection of the Great Mogul, divides itſelf into thirty-ſeven ſeveral and large provinces, which antiently were particular kingdoms, whoſe true names (which we there had out of the Mogul's own records) with their principal cities and rivers, their ſituation and borders, their extent in length and breadth, I ſhall firſt ſet down very briefly, beginning at the north-weſt. Yet as I name theſe ſeveral provinces, I ſhall by the way take notice of ſome particulars in them which are moſt remarkable.

1. Candahore, the chief city ſo called; it lies from the heart of the Mogul's territories north-

north-west; it confines with the King of Persia, and was antiently a province belonging to him.

2. Cabul, the chief city so called, the extremest part north of this Emperor's dominions; it confineth with Tartary; the river Nilob hath its beginning in it, whose current is southerly, 'till it discharges itself into Indus.

3. Multan, the chief city so called; it lieth south from Cabul and Candahore, and to the west joins with Persia. This province is fam'd for many excellent bows and arrows made in it: The bows made of horn, excellently glued and put together; the arrows of small canes or reeds, both of them curiously set off by rich paint and varnish: They which are made here, are more neat and good than in any part of East India besides.

4. Haidcan, the province of the Balocher, who are a very stout and warlike people, that dare fight. I insert this, because there are infinite multitudes of people in the Mogul's territories, who appear as likely as these, but so low-spirited, (as I shall after observe) that they dare not fight. This province hath no renowned city. The famous river Indus (called by the inhabitants Skind) borders it on the east; and Lar, a province belonging to the King of Persia, meets it on the west.

5. Buckor, the chief city called Buckor-Succor; that famous river Indus makes its way through it, and greatly enricheth it.

6. Tatta,

6. Tatia, the chief city ſo called; the river Indus makes many iſlands in it exceeding fruitful and pleaſant; the main current whereof meets with the ſea at Sundee, a place very famous for many curious handicrafts.

7. Soret, the chief city is called Janagar; it is but a little province, yet very rich; it lies upon Guzarat; it hath the ocean to the ſouth.

8. Jeſſelmure, the chief city ſo called; it joineth with Soret; but Buckor and Iatta lie to the weſt thereof.

9. Attack, the chief city ſo called; it lieth on the eaſt ſide of Indus, which parts it from Haiacan.

10. Peniab, which ſignifieth five waters, becauſe it is ſeated amongſt five rivers, all tributaries to Indus; which, ſomewhat ſouth of Lahore, made but one current: It is a large province, and moſt fruitful. Lahore is the chief city thereof, built very large, and abounds both in people and riches, one of the moſt principal cities for trade in all India.

11. Chiſhmere, the chief city called Siranakar; the river Phat finds a way through it, though it be very mountainous, and ſo creeps to the ſea.

12. Banchiſh, the chief city is called Biſhur; it lieth eaſt, ſomewhat ſoutherly from Chiſhmeere, from which it is divided by the river Indus.

13. Jangſapore, the chief city ſo called; it lieth

lieth upon the river Kaul, one of those five rivers which water Peniab.

14. Jenba, the chief city so called; it lieth east of Peniab.

15. Dellee, (which signifies a heart, and is seated in the heart of the Mogul's territories) the chief city so called; it lieth between Jenba and Agra; the river Jemni (which runneth through Agra, and after falleth into Ganges) begins in it. This Dellee is both an antient and a great city, the seat of the Mogul's ancestors, where most of them lie interred. It was once the city and seat of King Porus, who was conquered about this place by Alexander the Great; and here he encountring with huge elephants, as well as with a mighty host of men, said, as Curtius reports, *Tandem par animo meo inveni periculum*, that he had met with dangers equal to his great mind. I was told by Tom. Coryate, (who took special notice of this place) that he being in the city of Dellee, observed a very great pillar of marble, with a Greek inscription upon it, which time hath almost quite worn out, erected (as he supposed) there and then, by Great Alexander, to preserve the memory of that famous victory.

16. Bando, the chief city so called; it confineth Agra to the west.

17. Malway, a very fruitful province; Rantipore is its chief city.

18. Chitor, an antient great kingdom, the chief city so called, which standeth upon a mighty

mighty high hill flat on the top, walled about at the leaſt ten Engliſh miles.

There appear to this day above a hundred ruin'd churches, and divers fair palaces, which are lodged in like manner among the ruins, beſides many exquiſite pillars of carved ſtone, and the ruins likewiſe at the leaſt of a hundred thouſand ſtone houſes, as many Engliſh by their obſervation have gueſſed. There is but one aſcent unto it, cut out of a firm rock to which a man muſt paſs through four (ſometimes very magnificent) gates. Its chief inhabitants at this day are Ziim and Ohim, birds and wild beaſts; but the ſtately ruins thereof give a ſhadow of its beauty while it flouriſhed in its price. It was won from Ramas, an antient Indian prince, who was forced to live himſelf ever after in high mountainous places adjoining to that province, and his poſterity to live there ever ſince. It was taken from him by Achaber Padſha, (the father of that King who lived and reigned when I was in thoſe parts) after a very long ſiege, which famiſhed the beſieged, without which it could never have been gotten. Let me digreſs here a little, and put my reader in mind of a ſad truth, which he muſt needs know already, how that this hunger is the moſt powerful commander, the moſt abſolute conqueror in the world; for though nature may be content, and in extremities can make ſhift with a little, yet ſomething muſt be had; bread being the ſtaff of life,

life, the prop, the pillar which next under the giver hereof, keeps up theſe houſes of clay. Earthly enemies, be they never ſo many, never ſo mighty, may be long oppoſed, but famine is irreſiſtable. A man may fly from a ſword, the arrow of peſtilence may miſs him; but there is no defence nor reſiſtance againſt hunger, againſt thirſt; which ſometimes made the beſieged Bethulians (as their ſtory relates) to faint and die in the ſtreets of their city, for want of water. The widow of Zarepthah was in a very low condition (in a time of a moſt miſerable famine) when ſhe told the prophet Elias, that ſhe had left for her ſuſtenance but "a handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruſe, and ſhe was gathering two ſticks to dreſs it for herſelf and ſon, that they might eat and die," 1 Kings 17, 12; for when that proviſion was gone, all was gone: O how great is the extremity of famine! in which ſome have been threatened "to eat their own dung, and drink their own piſs." 2 Kings 18, 27. In what a ſad caſe were the people in the ſiege of Samaria, when one woman ſaid unto another, "give me thy ſon, and we will eat him to-day, and we will eat my ſon to-morrow." 2 Kings 6, 29. So in the ſiege and ſtreightneſs of Jeruſalem, "when the women did eat the fruit of their own bodies, their children of a ſpan long," Lam. 2, 20; when by reaſon of famine "the viſages of theſe men were made blacker than coals, and the hands of pitiful

pitiful women" were forc'd, by reason of the most grievous extremities, by the want of all bodily provisions, "to boil their own children to be their meat," Lam. 4. 8. It were well if people in the enjoyment of spread tables, and full cups, would be often thinking of such sad stories, which indeed are much better apprehended by the empty, than by full and pampered bellies: *Egens telum necessitas*: there is no such strong prevailing weapon as want, as want of food is; the loss (as it hath been of many other places) so of this (sometimes most famous) city: And thus, gained as it was by the command of the conqueror, so now it is demolished.

19. Guzarat, a very goodly, large, and exceeding rich province; it encloseth the bay of Cambaya; its chief city is Amedavaz; besides, it hath in it Cambaya, Brodera, Baroch and Surat, fair cities; but the first of those I named, more spacious, populous, and rich than any of the other. It is watered with many goodly rivers, as that of Cambaya, (falsely supposed to be Indus) with the river Narbodah (passing by Baroch, and so to the sea) with the river Taplee, which watereth Surat. The merchants which are the natives of this province, trade to the Red Sea, to Achin, and to divers other places.

20. Chandis, the chief city called Brampore, which is very great, rich, and full of people. Adjoining to this province lived a petty

petty prince, called Partapſha, tributary to the Mogul; and this is the moſt ſouthern-moſt part of all his territories.

21. Berar, the chief city is called Shapore, the ſouthernmoſt part whereof doth likewiſe bound this empire.

22. Narvar, the chief city is called Gehud; it is watered by a fair river, that much enricheth it, and diſchargeth itſelf into Ganges.

23. Gwaliar, the chief city ſo called, where the Mogul hath a very rich treaſury of gold and ſilver kept in this city, within an exceeding ſtrong caſtle, wherein the King's priſoners are likewiſe kept. The caſtle is continually guarded by a very ſtrong company of armed ſoldiers.

24. Agra, a principal and very rich province, the chief city ſo called, this great Emperor's metropolis, in north latitude about 28 degrees and a half. It is very well watered by the river Jemni. This and Lahore are the two principal and choice cities of this empire, betwixt whom is that Long Walk (I made mention of before) of four hundred miles in length, ſhaded by great trees on both ſides: This is looked upon by travellers, who have found the comfort of that cool ſhade, as one of the rareſt and moſt beneficial works in the whole world.

25. Sanbat, the chief city ſo called; the river Jemni parts it from Narvar, and after at the city Hellabaſs falls into that moſt famous

river Ganges, which is called by the inhabitants of East-India, Ganga.

26. Bakar, the chief city called Bikaneer; it lieth on the west side of the river Ganges.

27. Nagracot, the chief city so called, in which there is a chapel most richly set forth, being ceiled and paved with plate of pure silver, most curiously imbossed over head in several figures, which they keep exceeding bright, by often rubbing and burnishing it; and all this cost those poor seduced Indians are at, to do honour to an idol they keep in that chapel. What charge can Heathenish idolators be content to bear for their gross idolatry; nothing is too rich, too precious, or too dear for their idol. And what cost the superstitious Israelites were content to bear for their lewd devotion, we may further see, Ex. 32, 2, they are ready to give their gold, not out of their purses only, but from their ears too, to further their mis-devotion; most willing they were to part with their jewels to their molten God. O how do these Heathens, and these Israelites, condemn thousands, which call themselves Christians, who cannot abide to be at any cost for Religion! That service of God which is most cheap and chargeless, they like best. Those I first named were ready to give freely to their false Gods, these to take all they can from their true God, being very prodigals for their lusts, and very niggards for their souls. The idol thus kept in that so richly

adorned

adorned chapel, they call Matta, and it is continually viſited by thoſe poor blinded Infidels, who, out of the officiouſneſs of their devotion, cut off ſome part of their tongues to offer unto it as a ſacrifice; which (they ſay) grow out again as before: But in this I ſhall leave my reader to a belief, as much ſuſpenſive as is my own in this particular. In this province likewiſe there is another famous pilgrimage to a place called Jallamakee, where, out of cold ſprings that iſſue out from amongſt hard rocks, are daily to be ſeen continued eruptions of fire, before which the idolatrous people fall down and worſhip. Both theſe places were ſeen, and ſtrictly obſerved by Mr. Coryate.

28. Siba, the chief city is called Hardware, where the famous river Ganges paſſing through or amongſt large rocks, makes preſently after a pretty full current: but both this and that other great river Indus have their riſe and original out of the mountain Caucaſus, from whence they both firſt iſſue. That principal rock, through which this river Ganges there makes a current, is indeed, or (if not) according to the fancy of the ſuperſtitious Indians, like a Cow's head, which of all ſenſible creatures they love beſt (of which more hereafter); thither they aſſemble themſelves daily in troops to waſh their bodies, aſcribing a certain divinity to waters, but more eſpecially to the water in the river Ganges. And

thither our famous Coryate went likewiſe to view this place.

29. Kakares, the principal cities are called Dekalee and Purhola; it is a large province, but exceeding mountainous; divided it is from Tartaria by the mountain Caucaſus; it is the extremeſt part north under the Mogul's ſubjection.

30. Gor, the chief city ſo called; it is full of mountains; the river Serſily, a tributary unto Ganges, hath its beginning in it.

31. Pitan, the chief city ſo called; the river Canda waters it, and falls into Ganges in the confines thereof.

32. Kanduana, the chief city is called Karhakatenka; the river Serſily parts it from Pitan: This and Gor are the north-eaſt bounds of this monarchy.

33. Patna, the chief city ſo called; the river Ganges bounds it on the weſt, Serſily on the eaſt; it is a very fertile province.

34. Jeſuat, the chief city is called Raiapore; it lieth eaſt of Patna.

35. Mevat, the chief city is called Narnol; it is very mountainous.

36. Udeſſa, the chief city called Jekanat; it is the moſt remote part eaſt of this empire.

37. Bengala, a moſt ſpacious and fruitful province, but more properly to be called a kingdom, which hath two very large provinces within it, Purb and Patan, the one lying on the eaſt, the other on the weſt ſide of the river

ver Ganges: It is limited by the gulph of the ſame name, whereinto the river Ganges (which at laſt comes to be divided into four great currents) diſchargeth itſelf, after it hath found a way through the Mogul's territories more than fifteen hundred miles in length. The chief cities in it are Ragamahat and Dekaka. It hath many havens and ports belonging unto it, which are places of very great trade.

Now theſe are the ſeveral provinces belonging to the Great Mogul, and all of them under his ſubjection, which may be beheld all together at one view, in this moſt exact affixed map, firſt made by the ſpecial obſervation and direction of that moſt able and honourable gentleman, Sir Thomas Row, here contracted into a leſs compaſs, yet large enough to demonſtrate, that this great empire is bounded on the eaſt by the kingdom of Maug; weſt, with Perſia; and with the main ocean ſoutherly; north, with the mountain Caucaſus and Tartaria; ſouth, with Decan, and the gulph of Bengala. Decan, lying in the ſkirts of Aſia, is divided betwixt three Mahometan Princes, and ſome other Indian Rhaiaes, which are Princes likewiſe.

The length of theſe provinces is north-weſt to ſouth-weſt more than two thouſand Engliſh miles; north and ſouth the extent thereof is about fourteen hundred miles; the ſouthernmoſt part lying in twenty, and the northernmoſt in forty-three degrees of north latitude.

The breadth of this much enlarged and far extended empire, is north-east to south-west about fifteen hundred of the same miles.

And here a great error in geographers must not escape my notice; who in their globes and maps make East-India and China near neighbours, when so many large countries are interposed betwixt them; which great distance may appear by the long travel of the Indian merchants, who are usually (they going and returning all the way by land) in their journey and return, and some stay there, two full years, from Agra to China.

Now to give an exact account of all those fore-named provinces, were more than I am able to undertake; yet out of that which I have observed in some of them, (by travelling many miles up into that country, and then up and down with my Lord Ambassador unto many places there in progress with that King) I shall adventure to guess at all, and think for my particular, that the Great Mogul, considering his most large territories, his full and great treasures, with the many rich commodities his provinces afford, is the greatest and richest known King of the east, if not of the whole world. I shall now therefore fall upon particulars, to make that my observation good; Where

SECTION

SECTION II.

Of the Soil there, what it is, and what it produceth, &c.

THE moſt ſpacious and fertile monarchy, called by the inhabitants Indoſtan, ſo much abounds in all neceſſaries for the uſe and ſervice of man, to feed, and cloath, and enrich him, as that it is able to ſubſiſt and flouriſh of itſelf, without the leaſt help from any neighbour-prince or nation.

Here I ſhall ſpeak firſt of that which nature requires moſt, food, which this empire brings forth in abundance; as, ſingular good wheat, rice, barley, with divers other kinds of good grain to make bread, (the ſtaff of life) and all theſe ſorts of corn in their kinds, very good and exceeding cheap. For their wheat, it is more full, and more white than ours, of which the inhabitants make ſuch pure, well-reliſhed bread, that I may ſay of it, as one ſometimes ſpake of the bread made in the biſhoprick of Leige, it is *panis pane melior*, bread better than bread.

The ordinary ſort of people eat bread made of a coarſer grain, but both toothſome, wholſome and hearty; they make it up in broad cakes, thick like our oaten-cakes; and then bake it upon ſmall round iron hearths, which they carry with them when they journey from place to place, making uſe of them in their

tents. It ſhould ſeem to be an antient cuſtom in the eaſt, as may appear by that preſident of Sarah when ſhe entertained the Angels, who found her in her tent; "She took fine meal, and did knead it, and made cakes thereof upon the hearth." Gen. xviii. 6.

To their bread they have great abundance of all other good proviſion, as of butter, (beating their cream into a ſubſtance like unto a thick oil, for in that hot climate they can never make it hard) which tho' ſoft, yet it is very ſweet and good. They have cheeſe likewiſe in plenty, by reaſon of their great number of kine, and ſheep and goats. Beſides, they have a beaſt very large, having a ſmooth thick ſkin without hair, called a Buffelo, which gives good milk; the fleſh of them is like beef, but neither ſo toothſome nor wholſome. Theſe buffeloes are much employed in carrying large ſkins of water, (for they are very ſtrong beaſts) which hang on both ſides of them, unto families that want it; their hides make moſt firm and excellent buff.

They have no want of veniſon of divers kinds, as red deer, fallow deer, elks, (which are very large, and ſtrong, and fierce creatures) antilopes, kids, &c. but their deer are no where imparked, the whole empire being (as it were) a foreſt for them; for a man can travel no way but he ſhall here and there ſee of them. But becauſe they are every man's game that will make them ſo, they do not

multiply

multiply to do them much hurt, either in their corn, or other places.

To these they have great store of hares; and they have plenty of fowls wild and tame, as abundance of hens, geese, ducks, pigeons, turtle doves, partridges, peacocks, quails, and many other singular good fowl. They have variety of fish; all which, by reason of their plenty, and because many of the natives eat no kind of flesh at all, nor of any thing that hath or may have life, and those that feed on such things eat not freely of any of those living creatures, they are all bought there at such easy rates as if they were not worth the valuing. They do not cut their chickens when they be little to make capons, and therefore they have no creatures of that name, but men, their eunuchs, called there Cogees, or capons, in their language; so made, when they be very young, and then deprived of all that might after provoke jealousy; and therefore they are put to be attendants on their women, the great men of that nation keeping many of them, a soft tender people, *tener spado*, as Juvenal calls one of them, that never come to have any hair on their faces.

But to return again to their provisions, the beeves of that country differ from ours, in that there are none of them very large; and those they have, have each of them a great bunch of grisly flesh which grows upon the meeting of their shoulders. The flesh of their

beeves

beeves is much whiter than the fleſh of ours, and very ſweet, tender and good. Their ſheep differ from ours by their great fleſhy bob-tails, which ſevered from their bodies are very ponderous. Their wool is generally coarſe, but their fleſh is not ſo.

Now to ſeaſon all their good proviſions, there is great ſtore of ſalt; and to ſweeten all, abundance of ſugar growing in that country; which, after it is well refined, may be there had at a very low rate; out of which they make very pure white ſugar-candy, which may be had there at a ſmall eaſy price likewiſe.

Their fruits are every way anſwerable to the reſt, the country abounding in muſk-melons (very much better, becauſe they are better digeſted there by the heat of the ſun, than theſe with us.) They have many water-melons, a very choice good fruit, and ſome of them as big as our ordinary pompions, and in ſhape like them; the ſubſtance within this fruit is ſpungy, but exceeding tender and well taſted, of a colour within equally mixed with red and white, and within that an excellent cooling and pleaſing liquor. Here are likewiſe ſtore of pome-granates, pome-citrons; here are lemons and oranges, but I never found any there ſo good as I have ſome elſewhere. Here are dates, figs, grapes, prunelloes, almonds, cocoa-nuts, (of which I obſerved ſomething before) and here they have theſe moſt excellent plums, called Mirabolans, the ſtone of which

which fruit differs very much from others in its ſhape, whereon Nature hath curiouſly quartered ſeveral ſtrakes equally divided, very pretty to behold; many of which choice plums (they write) are very cordial, and therefore worth the prizing, are there well preſerved, and ſent for England.

They have to theſe another fruit we Engliſh there called a Planten, of which many of them grow in cluſters together; they are long in ſhape, made like unto ſlender cucumbers, and very yellow when they are ripe, and then taſte like unto a Norwich pear, but much better. Another moſt excellent fruit they have, called a Mango, growing upon trees as big as our walnut-trees; and as theſe here, ſo thoſe trees there, will be very full of that moſt excellent fruit, in ſhape and colour like unto our apricots, but much bigger; which taken and rolled in a man's hands when they are through ripe, the ſubſtance within them becomes like the pap of a roaſted apple, which then ſuck'd out from about a large ſtone they have within, is delicately pleaſing unto every palate that taſtes it. And to conclude with the beſt of all other their choice fruits, the Annanas, like unto our pine-apples, which ſeems to the taſter to be a moſt pleaſing compound made of ſtrawberries, claret-wine, roſe-water, and ſugar well tempered together. In the northernmoſt parts of this empire they have variety of pear and apples; every where good roots, as car-

rots

roots, potatoes, and others like them. They have onions and garlick, and ſome herbs and ſmall roots for ſallads; and in the ſouthern-moſt parts, ginger growing almoſt in every place; the large races whereof are there very excellently well preſerved, as we may know by our taſting them in England. And all theſe things I have laſt named may be there likewiſe bought at very low rates. And laſtly, ſome one kind or other of their very good and choice fruits may be there had at every time or ſeaſon of the year.

And here I cannot chuſe but take notice of a very pleaſant and clear liquor, called Toddy, iſſuing from a ſpungy tree, that grows ſtrait and tall without boughs to the top, and there ſpreads out in tender branches, very like unto thoſe that grow from the roots of our rank and rich artichokes, but much bigger and longer. This toddy-tree is not ſo big, but that it may be very eaſily embraced, and the nimble people of that country will climb up as faſt to the top thereof (the ſtem of the tree being rough and cruſty) as if they had the advantage of adders to help them up. In the top tender branches of thoſe trees they make inciſions which they open and ſtop again as they pleaſe, under which they hang pots made of large and light gourds, to preſerve the influence which flues out of them in a large quantity in the night ſeaſon, they ſtopping up thoſe vents in the heat of the day. That which thus diſtils

forth

forth in the night, if it be taken very early in the morning, is as pleasing to the taste as any new white wine, and much clearer than it. It is a very piercing, medicinable, and inoffensive drink, if taken betimes in the day, only it is a little windy; but if it be kept till the heat of the day, the sun alters it so, as if it made it another kind of liquor, for it becomes then very heady, not so well relished, and unwholsome; and when it is so, not a few of our drunken seamen chuse to drink it; and I think they so do, because it will then presently turn their brains; for there are too many of the common sort of those men who use the sea, who love these brutish distempers too much, which turn a man out of himself, and leave a beast in the skin of a man. But for that drink, if it be taken in its best, and most proper season, I conceive it to be of itself very wholsome, because it provokes urine exceedingly; the further benefit whereof some there have found by happy experience, being thereby eased from their torture inflicted by that shame of physicians, and tyrant of all maladies, the Stone. And so cheap too is this most pleasing wine, that a man may there have more than enough for a very little money.

At Surat, and so to Agra, and beyond, it seldom or never rains, but one season of the year; but yet there is a refreshing dew during all that time the Heavens there are thus shut

up.

up, which every night falls and cools, and comforts and refreſheth the face of the earth. Thoſe general rains begin near the time that the ſun comes to the northern tropick, and ſo continue 'till his return back to the line. Theſe ſhowers at the beginning moſt extremely violent are uſher'd in, and uſually take their leave with moſt fearful tempeſts of thunder and lightning, more terrible than I can expreſs, yet ſeldom do harm; the reaſon in nature may be the ſubtilty of the air in thoſe parts, wherein there are fewer thunder-ſtones made, than in ſuch climates where the air is thick, groſs, and cloudy. During thoſe three months, it rains uſually every day, more or leſs; ſometimes one whole quarter of the moon together, ſcarce without any intermiſſion; which abundance of moiſture, with the heat of the ſun, doth ſo enrich their land, which they never force (if I obſerved right) by ſoiling of it, as that, like Egypt, by the inundation of Nilus, it makes it fruitful all the year after. When the time of this rain is paſſed over, the face of the ſky there is preſently ſo ſerene and clear, as that ſcarcely one cloud appears in their hemiſphere the nine months after.

And here a ſtrong argument, that may further, and moſt infallibly ſhew the goodneſs of their ſoil, ſhall not eſcape my pen, moſt apparent in this, that when the ground there hath been deſtitute of rain nine months together, and looks all of it like the barren ſands in the deſarts

deſarts of Arabia, where there is not one ſpire of green graſs to be found; within a few days after thoſe fat enriching ſhowers begin to fall, the face of the earth there (as it were by a new reſurrection) is ſo revived, and throughout ſo renewed, as that it is preſently covered all over with a pure green mantle. And moreover, to confirm that which before I obſerved concerning the goodneſs of that ſoil, amongſt many hundred acres of corn of divers kinds I have there beheld, I never ſaw any but what was very rich and good, ſtanding as thick on the ground as the land could well bear it.

They till their ground with oxen and foot-ploughs; their ſeed-time in May, and the beginning of June, they taking their time to diſpatch all that work before that long rainy ſeaſon comes; and though the ground then hath been all the time we named before without any ſufficient moiſture by ſhowers, or otherwiſe, to ſupple and make it more fit for tillage, yet the ſoil there is ſuch a brittle fat mould (which they ſow year after year) as that they can very eaſily till it. Their harveſt is in November and December, the moſt temperate months of all their year.

Their ground is not encloſed, unleſs ſome ſmall quantity near towns and villages, which ſtand ſcattered up and down this vaſt empire very thick, though for want of the true names not inſerted in the map.

They mow not their graſs (as we) to make hay,

hay, but cut it off the ground, either green or withered, as they have occaſion to uſe it.

They ſow tobacco in abundance, and they take it too very much, but after a ſtrange way, much different from us; for firſt, they have little earthen pots, ſhaped like our ſmall flower-pots, having a narrow neck, and an open round top, out of the belly of which comes a ſmall ſpout, to the lower part of which ſpout they fill the pot with water, then putting their tobacco looſe in the top, and a burning coal upon it, they having firſt faſten'd a very ſmall ſtrait hollow cane or reed (not bigger than a ſmall arrow) within that ſpout, a yard or ell long, the pot ſtanding on the ground, draw that ſmoak into their mouths, which firſt falls upon the ſuperficies of the water, and much diſcolours it. And this way of taking their tobacco, they believe makes it much more cool and wholſome. The tobacco which grows there is doubtleſs in the plant as good as in any other place of the world, but they know not how to cure and order it, like thoſe in the Weſt-Indies, to make it ſo rich and ſtrong.

The country is beautified with many woods and groves of trees, in which thoſe winged choriſters make ſweet muſick. In thoſe woods ſome excellent hawks make their neſts; and there are very often to be ſeen great flocks of parakeetoes, or little parrots, who have their breeding and lodging amongſt thoſe melancholy ſhades. And (in the number of many other creatures

creatures covered with feathers) there are ſome very little birds, leſs than our wrens, who are exceeding pretty for their neat ſhape, and their covering, with moſt curious party-colour'd feathers, full of variety of little ſpots. I have ſeen there many of thoſe rare creatures kept together in large cages, who pleaſe the eye with their curious colours, and the ear with their variety of pleaſant notes. The woods and groves in the ſouthernmoſt parts of Indoſtan, have great ſtore of wild apes, monkies, and baboons in them, ſome of which I have ſeen as high as our talleſt Grey-Hounds, which live among the trees, and climb them at pleaſure. Thoſe apes, &c. are very terrible to thoſe little birds, which make their neſts in theſe woods; and therefore nature hath taught them this ſubtilty, (to preſerve their young ones from thoſe creatures, which would otherwiſe deſtroy them) to build their neſts in the twigs, and the utmoſt boughs of thoſe trees, where ſome of them hang like little purſe-nets, to which thoſe apes and monkies, be they never ſo little and light, cannot come to hurt them.

Beſides their woods, they have great variety of fair goodly trees that ſtand here and there ſingle, but I never ſaw any there of thoſe kinds of trees which England affords. They have very many firm and ſtrong timber trees for building, and other uſes; but much of their bruſh, or ſmall wood, I obſerved to be very

ſappy; ſo that when we brake a twig of it, there would come a ſubſtance out of ſome of it, like unto milk; and the ſappineſs of that under-wood may (as I apprehend it) be aſcribed in part to the fatneſs of that ſoil. Some of their trees have leaves upon them broad as bucklers, others are parted ſmall like our fern or brakes, as the tamerine tree, which bears cods ſomewhat like our beans, in which when the fruit is ripe there is a very well taſted pulp, though it be ſour, moſt wholſome to open the body, and to cool and cleanſe the blood.

There is one very great and fair tree growing in that ſoil, of 'ſpecial obſervation, out of whoſe branches or great arms grow little ſprigs downward, 'till they take root, (as they will certainly do if they be let alone) and taking root, at length prove ſtrong ſupporters unto thoſe large branches that yield them. Whence it comes to paſs, that thoſe trees in time (their ſtrong and far extended arms being in many places thus ſupported) grow to a very great height, and extend themſelves to ſuch an incredible breadth, they growing round every way, as that hundreds of men may ſhade themſelves under one of them at any time; the rather, becauſe theſe, as all other trees in thoſe ſouthern parts of Eaſt-India, (as particularly I obſerved before) ſtill keep on their green coats.

For their flowers, they are for the generality like unto painted weeds, which, though their colour

colour be excellent, they rather delight the eye than affect the ſmell; for not many of them, except roſes, and ſome few kinds more, are any way fragrant: Amongſt them that are, there is one white flower, like to Spaniſh jeſſamin, (if it be not the ſame) which is exceedingly well ſcented, of which they make a moſt excellent pure ſweet oil, with which they anoint their heads, and other parts of their bodies; which makes the company of thoſe that do ſo very ſavoury and ſweet.

This empire is watered with many goodly rivers (as they are expreſſed in the map) the two principal are Indus and Ganges; where this thing is very obſervable, (for they ſay there that it is very true) that one pint of the water of the Ganges weigheth leſs by one ounce than any other water in that whole great monarchy: And therefore (they ſay) that the Mogul, whereſoever he is, hath water brought him from that river, that he may drink thereof, by ſome appointed for that ſervice, who are continually either going to it, or coming from it: The water is brought to the King in fine copper jars, excellently well tinn'd on the inſide, and ſeal'd up when they are delivered to the water-bearers for the King's uſe; two of which jars every one carries, hanging upon ſlings fitted for the porter's ſhoulders.

Beſides their rivers, they have ſtore of wells fed with ſprings; and to theſe they have many,

ponds, which they call Tanques, ſome of them exceeding large, fill'd with water when that abundance of rain falls (of which more hereafter.)

That moſt antient and innocent drink of the world, Water, is the common drink of Eaſt-India; it is far more pleaſant and ſweet than our water; and muſt needs be ſo, becauſe in all hot countries it is more rarified, better digeſted, and freed from its rawneſs by the heat of the ſun, and therefore in thoſe parts it is more deſired of all that come thither, tho' they never made it their drink before, than any other liquor, and agrees better with men's bodies. Sometimes we boil the water there with ſome wholſome ſeeds, and after drink it cold, and then it is by much more cold after an heat; (like unto ſome men, who have ſhewed formerly much zeal and heat for good, and afterward became more chill and cold than ever they were before.) Sometimes we mingle our water there with the juice of lemons and ſugar, which makes an exceeding pleaſant drink, which we call there ſherbet.

Some ſmall quantity of wine, but not common, is made amongſt them; they call it rack, diſtilled from ſugar, and a ſpicy rind of a tree called Jagra; it is very wholſome, if taken very moderately.

Many of the people there, who are ſtrict in their religion, drink no wine at all; but they uſe a liquor more wholſome than pleaſant,

ſant, they call coffee, made by a black ſeed boiled in water, which turns it almoſt into the ſame colour, but doth very little alter the taſte of the water; notwithſtanding it is very good to help digeſtion, to quicken the ſpirits, and to cleanſe the blood.

There is yet another help for thoſe that forbear wine, by an herb they have, called beetle, or paune, in ſhape ſomewhat like an ivy-leaf, but more tender; they chew it with an hard nut, ſomewhat like a nutmeg, (but not in taſte like that) and a very little pure white-lime amongſt the leaves, and when they have ſucked down the juice, put forth the reſt. It hath (as they ſay, and I believe very much of it) many rare qualities, for it preſerves the teeth, ſtrengthens the ſtomach, comforts the brain, and it cures or prevents a tainted breath. This I am ſure of, that ſuch is the pleaſing ſmell of this beetle, being chewed in a cloſe room, that the breath of him ſo chewing it fills it with a very pleaſing ſavour.

The empire further affords very excellent good horſes, curiouſly made, high-mettled, and well managed by the natives. Beſides their own, they have many of the Perſian, Tartarian, and Arabian breed, which have the name to be the choice ones of the world. But of theſe more when I come to ſpeak of the inhabitants.

Here are a great number of camels, dromedaries, mules, and aſſes, employed for the car-

riage of burthens, or the carrying of the people, to which uſe alſo they employ many of their oxen, and their buffeloes likewiſe (which before I ſpake of.) The camels, as I oft' obſerved there, have one ſtrange quality, they cry and make a very piteous noiſe at night, when they take off their burthens; but in the morning, when they are laid on, the poor creatures are very ſtill and quiet, making no noiſe at all. Many wicked men, who are moſt fitly called by the pſalmiſt, " the beaſts of the people," Pſal. lxviii. 30. (for ſo it is in the vulgar tranſlation, beaſt, for want of reaſon, and for not uſing reaſon well, worſe than brutes) may be moſt fitly reſembled by thoſe dull camels, who being burthen'd and clogg'd with a great load of ſin already, enough to preſs them down into that bottomleſs pit, ſeem to feel nothing, nor to complain at all, but with much quiet and content keep on their burthens, and take up more ſtill; as if that wickedneſs, which the prophet Zachary, 5. 7. compares to a talent of lead, were as light as a feather. But when we go about by our exhortations, intreaties, perſuaſions of them, and by the ſtrongeſt arguments beſides we can invent, preſs them " to ſuffer God through Chriſt Jeſus to ſave their ſouls," and conſequently to get themſelves freed from that intolerable burthen, which will unavoidably ſink them into Hell at laſt, if they be not freed from it, then theſe, like thoſe ſtupid creatures,

cry

cry and complain, and ſeem to be much diſquieted, as if we did them much wrong, while we labour to do them the greateſt right. The reaſon is, becauſe their pride (as every beloved ſin beſides) "compaſſeth them as a chain," Pſal. lxxiii. 6. it is their jewel, their ornament, (as they think) and therefore they will keep it, they will not part from it, though it be their greateſt ſhame, becauſe they eſteem it their chiefeſt glory. I would intreat my reader, when he comes to this digreſſion, to read it over and over again.

The dromedary is called by the prophet Jeremy, ii. 23. the ſwift dromedary; the reaſon may be, becauſe theſe, like the camels, have very long legs, and conſequently make long ſteps, and ſo travelling rid ground apace; or becauſe at a pinch, or time of need, they will carry a man exceeding far without reſt, and but with a very little food.

They have ſome rhinoceros, but they are not common; which are very large ſquare beaſts, bigger than the largeſt oxen England affords; their ſkins, without hair, lie in great wrinkles upon their necks, breaſts, and backs, which doth not make them ſeem lovely to the beholders. They have very ſtrong but ſhort horns, growing upon very firm bones, that lie over their noſtrils; they grow upwards, towards the top of their head, every one of theſe creatures being fortified with one of them, and that enough to make them ſo ter-

rible, that they are ſhunn'd by other, tho' very large creatures. With theſe horns, (from which thoſe creatures have their names) are made very excellent cups, which (as is conceived) give ſome virtue unto the liquor put into them, if it ſtand any long time in thoſe cups.

And now to conclude with the largeſt and the moſt intelligent (as we ſhall hereafter ſhew) of all the ſenſible creatures the earth produceth, the elephant, of which this vaſt monarchy hath abundance; and of them the Mogul is maſter of many thouſands; and his nobles, and all men of quality beſides, in thoſe large territories, have more or leſs of them. But of theſe much ſhall be ſpoken in my ſixth ſection.

I obſerved before, that the inhabitants of this empire did carry moſt of their burthens upon the backs of their beaſts; and in a ſpecial manner this people employ their camels and dromedaries for this uſe, to carry their merchandiſe from place to place; and therefore I ſhall let my reader ſee,

SECTION

SECTION III.

What the chief Merchandiſe, and moſt Staple and other Commodities are, which are bought in this Empire.

THE moſt ſtaple commodities of this empire are indico and cotton wool; of that wool they make divers ſorts of callico, which had that name (as I ſuppoſe) from Calliçute, not far from Goa, where that kind of cloth was firſt bought by the Portugueſe.

For the ſpices brought hither by the East-Indian fleet, they are had more ſoutherly, from the iſlands of Sumatra, from Java major and minor, from the Molucca's, and from other places thereabout: In which, as in the Molucca iſlands, and thoſe other parts too from whence the richeſt ſpices come, the low-country merchants have got ſuch footing, and ſuch a particular intereſt, that our Engliſh factors there (for the preſent) buy thoſe commodities, as we ſometimes do buy proviſions and commodities here at home, out of the engroſſing huckſters hands: So that our Engliſh in thoſe parts have a free trade for no kind of ſpice, but for that which is one of the loweſt priced, namely pepper, which they fetch from Bantam. Which more general trade of the Dutch they have formerly gained, at a very vaſt expence, by fortifying themſelves there in the places wherever they ſettle; and then

ſtanding

ſtanding upon their guard, put a kind of force upon the natives to ſell them their commodities.

What the carriage of that people hath formerly been in thoſe parts towards our Engliſh, (where their ſword hath been longeſt) is ſufficiently made known by other pens: This I may conclude from their example (and I would that they were ſingular and alone in it) that when a people will not be ordered by that royal law, which commands us. Mat. vii. 12. "to do nothing, but what we would be content to ſuffer; as to do nothing unto others, but what we would be well content to ſuffer from others:" But on the contrary, when they meaſure things, not by the ſtrait and even rule of equity, but by the crooked and oblique line of power, arming their injuſtice to do what they pleaſe, becauſe they can do what they will: This cauſeth many to make very bold with God in caſes that ſeem to give advantage unto their high thoughts and commodities; for what evil cannot ambition and covetouſneſs do, when they are backt with an arbitrary and unlimited power here below, if they be not checkt by a ſtronger arm from above? Whence we ſee it often come to paſs, that when the laws of nature and nations, yea of God himſelf, lie in the way of their profit, or earthly advantages, (whatever their ſufferings or loſs be afterward) they either ſpurn them thence, or elſe tread and trample upon

upon them at pleaſure, to compaſs their ends for the preſent. This I can ſay of the Dutch, (ſomething from my own knowledge, but more from the report of others) that when I lived in thoſe parts, and we Engliſh there were more for number than they, and conſequently could receive no hurt from them, we there uſed them as neighbours and brethren; but in other places, where they had the like advantage of us, they dealt with us neither like Chriſtians, nor men. But I will not here any longer digreſs, but return to ſpeak further of the commodities to be had in Eaſt-India.

The indico we bring thence, is a good and rich commodity. It is there made of little leaves, not bigger than thoſe on our gooſeberry buſhes, and the ſhrubs that bear thoſe leaves are about their bigneſs. Theſe leaves they ſlip off from the ſmall branches of thoſe buſhes, which grow with round and full heads without pricks. The leaves thus ſtripp'd off, are laid in great heaps together certain days, 'till they have been in a hot ſweat; then they are removed, and put into very great and deep veſſels fill'd with a ſufficient quantity of water to ſteep them in, where they leave their blue tincture, with their ſubſtance; this done, the water is drain'd out into other exceeding broad, but very ſhallow veſſels or vats, made of plaſter, (like to that we call plaſter of Paris) which will keep in all the liquor 'till the hot ſun in ſhort time extracts the moiſture from it; and

then

then what remains in the bottom is a cream about a quarter of an inch thick, which ſuddenly becomes hard and dry, and that is our indico; the beſt ſort whereof comes from Biana, near unto Agra, and a coarſer ſort is made at Cirkeeſe, not far from Amadanaz; about which two places are a very great number of thoſe ſhrubs planted which bear thoſe leaves.

For their cotton wool, they ſow ſeed, and very large quantities of ground in Eaſt-India are thus ſeeded. It grows up like ſmall roſe-buſhes, and then puts forth many yellow bloſſoms; thoſe afterward falling off, there remain little cods, about the bigneſs of a man's thumb, in which the ſubſtance at firſt is moiſt and yellow; but as they ripen, they ſwell bigger, 'till they break their covering, and after, in a ſhort time, that within them becomes wool, as white as ſnow, and then they gather it. Amongſt that wool they find ſeeds to ſow again as they have occaſion; but thoſe ſhrubs bear that wool three or four years e're they ſupplant them. Of this cotton-wool they make divers ſorts of white cloth, (as I before obſerved) ſome broad, ſome narrow, ſome coarſe, ſome fine, and very fine indeed; for ſome that I have ſeen there I believe was as fine as our pureſt lawn. Much of the coarſer ſort of that cloth they dye into colours, or elſe ſtain in it variety of well-ſhaped and well-coloured flowers or figures, which are ſo fixed

in

in the cloth, that no water can wash them out. That pretty art of staining, or printing and fixing those variety of colours in that white cloth, the people of Asia have engrossed to themselves, where the most curious pintadaes are made; whither neighbouring, as well as more remote nations, bring their money to fetch them thence.

In Decan, which bounds upon the Mogul's territories south, (the princes whereof are tributaries unto him) there are many diamond rocks, in which are found those most precious of all other stones; and they are to be sold in this empire, and consequently to be had by those who have skill to buy them, and money to pay for them. But as all the stones in East-India or not precious, so those that are the natives know very well how to value.

But further, for the merchandising commodities the Mogul's provinces afford, there is musk (by reason of their abundance of musk-cats) to be had in good quantity; and there are bezar-stones, which are not so called from any beast of that name, but they grow in the maws of goats, which when they observe to grow exceeding lean, they kill them, and find those stones in them; and if they did not so, that stone in them would make an end of them; by which we may observe, how that precious bezoar-stone, that proves many times such a cordial and preservative to the life of man, is

destructive

deſtructive and mortal unto the poor creature from whence it is taken: Like that precious word of God, that may proceed from the lips of him that hath a lean ſoul, and may do others good, but himſelf nothing but miſchief. The greateſt number of thoſe goats, from whence thoſe bezoars are taken, feed on the mountains of Lar, in the Perſian territories, the weſt bound (as before) of the Mogul's great empire.

They have ſome ſtore of ſilk here; but the greateſt quantity of that rich commodity, that any place in the whole world affords, comes out of Georgia, a province belonging to the King of Perſia. Thoſe Georgians and Armenians, (both under the command of the Perſian King) are by profeſſion Chriſtians, like thoſe of the Greek church. And the Abiſſins, under the command of Preſter John, are in profeſſion Chriſtian likewiſe, but theſe Abiſſins circumciſe their males before they baptiſe them. Alas poor people! who for want of better inſtruction cannot know what they ſhould, and therefore know not what they do. All thoſe Armenians, Georgians, and Abiſſins, (as I have it from others, but can relate ſomething of it out of my own knowledge) even all of them, ſee Chriſt but in the dark, and by reaſon of the general ignorance that is in them, cannot know God as they ought in Jeſus Chriſt. Theſe are the different caſes of many which profeſs Chriſt in the world; ſome

cannot

cannot know him, ſome care not to know him, and ſome will not know him. Amongſt the firſt of theſe, they all may be ranked whom I but now named, as many others of the Greek, and thoſe that profeſs Chriſtianity in Ruſſian churches, with many-many others of the Romiſh, who have the truths of God ſealed up in an unknown tongue, to keep and to continue them in ignorance; who inſtead of the two breaſts of the church, the law and the goſpel, are fed with mouldy and finnowed traditions; and their caſe being ſo, our charity towards them may lead us thus far, to believe that they would do better, if they knew better; and this may ſpeak much in their excuſe. But what plea may be made for us of this nation, that do not what we know; or if we be ignorant, it is becauſe we will be ſo; not becauſe we cannot know, but becauſe we care not for knowledge, and will not know.

But to return to the place where I began my laſt digreſſion: I told you that the people there have ſome ſtore of ſilk, of which they make velvets, ſattins, taffaties, either plain or mingled, or ſtriped in party-colours; but the beſt of them, for richneſs and goodneſs, come not near thoſe which are made in the parts of Italy.

Many curious boxes, trunks, ſtandiſhes, carpets, with other excellent manufactures, may be there had. They have medicinable drugs, and amongſt them very much caſſia growing

growing there in canes. They have gums well ſcented, and much lignum aloes, which burnt, yields a perfume better than any one thing in the world that I ever ſmelled. They have great ſtore of gum-lac, of which they make their hard wax, and that gum likewiſe they there employ for many other neat uſes. The earth there yields good minerals of lead, iron, copper, braſs; and (they ſay) that they have ſilver mines too, which (if true) they need not open, being ſo enriched from other nations of Europe, and other parts, who yearly bring thither great quantities of ſilver to purchaſe their commodities: Which I collect from our Engliſh trade there; for though we vent ſome quantity of our woollen cloth, with ſome other things we carry thither, yet the greateſt part by far of commodities brought thence, are caught by the ſilver hook. And this is the way to make any nation of the world rich, to bring, and leave ſilver in it, and to take away commodities: And, as all rivers run into the ſea, ſo many ſilver ſtreams into this monarchy, and there ſtay; the people of any nation being there very welcome, that bring in their bullion, and carry away the others merchandiſe; but it is look'd on as a crime that is not eaſily anſwered, to tranſport any quantity of ſilver thence.

The coin or bullion brought thither from any place, is preſently melted and refined, and the Mogul's ſtamp (which is his name and titles

titles, in Perſian characters) put upon it. The coin there is more pure than in any other part of the world, being (as they report) made of pure ſilver without any alloy; ſo that in the Spaniſh money, the pureſt of all Europe, there is ſome loſs.

They call their pieces of money roopes, of which there are ſome of divers values, the meaneſt worth two ſhillings and three-pence, and the beſt two ſhillings and nine-pence ſterling. By theſe they account their eſtates and payments. They have another coin of inferior value in Guzarat, called mamoodies, about twelve-pence ſterling; both the former, and theſe, are made in halves, and ſome few in quarters; ſo that three-pence is the leaſt piece of ſilver current in thoſe countries, and very few of them to be ſeen. That which paſſeth up and down in exchange under this rate, is braſs or copper money, which they call pices, whereof three, or thereabouts, countervail a penny. Thoſe pices are made ſo maſſy and thick, as that the baſer metal of which they are made, put to other uſes, is well nigh worth the ſilver they are rated at. Their ſilver coin is made either round or ſquare, but ſo thick, as that it never breaks, nor wears out. They have pure gold coin likewiſe, ſome pieces of great value, but theſe are not very ordinarily ſeen amongſt them.

I have now done with this ſection, wherein I have related much of the commodities and

riches, as before of the proviſions and pleaſures which are to be found in that vaſt monarchy, and I conceive nothing but what truth will juſtify. And now, leſt that place I have deſcrib'd ſhould ſeem to be an earthly Paradiſe, I muſt acquaint my reader, that the contents there found by ſuch as have lived in thoſe parts, are ſour'd and ſauc'd with many unpleaſing things, which he muſt needs know when he takes notice

SECTION IV.

Of the Diſcommodities, Inconveniences, and Annoyances, that are to be found or met withal in this Empire.

AS the poets feigned that the garden of the Heſperides (wherein were trees that bare golden apples) was guarded by a ſerpent; ſo there are ſtings here as well as fruits; all conſidered together may not unfitly be reſembled by thoſe locuſts mentioned Rev. ix. 7, 8, 10. "who had the faces of men, and the hair of women, and crowns as of gold on their heads, but they had too the teeth of lions, and the tails of ſcorpions, and there were ſtings in thoſe tails." Here are many things to content and pleaſe the enjoyers of them, to make their life more comfortable, but

but withal here are teeth to tear, and ſtings to kill; All put together, are nothing but a mixture made up (as indeed all earthly things are) of good and bad; of bitter, and ſweet; of what contents, and of what contents not.

The annoyances of theſe countries are, firſt many harmful beaſts of prey, as lions, tygers, wolves, jackalls, with others; thoſe jackalls ſeem to be wild dogs, who in great companies run up and down in the ſilent night, much diſquieting the peace thereof, by their moſt hideous noiſe. Thoſe moſt ravenous creatures will not ſuffer a man to reſt quietly in his grave; for if his body be not buried very deep, they will dig him thence, and bury as much of him again as they can conſume, in their hungry bellies. In their rivers are many crocodiles, and—*Latet anguis in herbâ*, on the land, not a few overgrown ſnakes, with other venomous and pernicious creatures. In our houſes there we often ſee lizards, ſhaped like unto crocodiles, of a ſad green colour, and but little creatures, the fear of whom preſents itſelf moſt to the eye, for I do not know that they are hurtful. There are many ſcorpions to be ſeen, which are oftentimes felt, which creep into their houſes, eſpecially in that time of the rains, whoſe ſtinging is moſt ſenſible and deadly, if the patient have not preſently ſome oil that is made of ſcorpions, to anoint the parts affected, which is a ſudden and a certain cure. But if the man can get the ſcor-

pion that ſtung him, (as ſometimes they do) the oily ſubſtance it affords, being beaten in pieces, ſuddenly applied, is a preſent help. The ſting of the ſcorpion may be a very fit reſemblance of the ſting of death, the bitterneſs and anguiſh whereof nothing can aſſwage and cure ſo well as a ſerious conſideration, and a continual application of the thoughts of dying. *Facilè contemnit omnia, qui cogitat ſe ſemper moriturum*, that man may trample upon every thing whoſe meditations are taken up with the thoughts of his change. He cannot die but well, who dies daily, daily in his preparations for death, though he die not preſently.

The ſcorpions are in ſhape like unto our cray-fiſhes, and not bigger, and look black like them before they are boiled; they have a little round tail which turns up, and lies uſually upon their backs, at the end whereof is their ſting, which they do not put in and let out of their bodies, as other venomous creatures do, but it always appears in their tails ready to ſtrike; it is very ſharp and hard, and not long, but crooked like the talon of a hawk.

The abundance of flies (like thoſe ſwarms in Egypt, Ex. viii. 21.) in thoſe parts did very much annoy us; for in the heat of the day their numberleſs number was ſuch, as that we could not be quiet in any place for them, they being ready to fly into our cups, and to cover

cover our meat as ſoon as it was placed on the table; and therefore we had always ſome of the natives we kept there, who were our ſervants, to ſtand round about us on purpoſe while we were eating, with napkins to fright them away. And as in the day one kind of ordinary flies troubled us; ſo in the night we were likewiſe very much diſquieted with another ſort, called muſketoes, like our gnats, but ſomewhat leſs; and in that ſeaſon we were very much troubled with chinches, another ſort of little troubleſome and offenſive creatures, like little ticks; and theſe annoyed us two ways, at firſt by their biting and ſtinging, and then by their ſtink. From all which we were by far more free when we lodged in tents (as there we did much) than when we abode in houſes; where in great cities and towns (to add unto the diſquiets I before named) there were ſuch an abundance of large hungry rats, that ſome of us were bitten in the night as we lay in our beds, either on our toes or fingers, or on the tips of our ears, or on the tops of our noſes, or in any part of our bodies beſides they could get into their mouths.

The winds in thoſe parts (as I obſerved before) which they call the monſoons, blow conſtantly one way, altering but few points, ſix months ſoutherly, and ſix months northerly. The months of April, May, and the beginning of June, 'till the rain falls, are ſo extremely hot, as that the wind when it blows

but gently, receives ſuch heat from the parched ground, that the reflection thereof is ready to bliſter a man's face that receives the breath of it. And if God did not provide for thoſe parts, by ſending a breeze or breath, or ſmall gale of wind daily, which ſomewhat tempers that hot ſulphureous air, there were no living in that torrid zone for us Engliſh, who have been uſed to breath in a temperate climate; and notwithſtanding that benefit, the air in that place is ſo hot to us Engliſh, that we ſhould be every day ſtewed in our own moiſture, but that we ſtir very little in the heat of the day, and have cloathing about us as thin as we can make it. And no wonder, for the coldeſt day in the whole year, at noon, (unleſs it be in the time when thoſe rains fall) is hotter there than the hotteſt day in England.

Yet I have there obſerved moſt ſtrange and ſudden changes of heat and cold within a few hours, as in November and December, the moſt temperate months of their year, (as before) and then at midnight the air was ſo exceeding freſh and cold, that it would produce a thin ice on the water; and then as we lay in our tents we would have been very glad of the warmth of a rug upon us, and the noon of that following day would be ſo extreme hot, as that it was troubleſome then to keep on the thinneſt cloathing.

Sometimes there the wind blows very high in thoſe hot and dry ſeaſons, not long before

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the rain begins to fall, raiſing up into the air a very great height thick clouds of duſt and ſand, which appear like dark clouds full of moiſture, but they deceive like the brook in Job vi. 15. that hath no water in it. Theſe dry ſhowers (which almighty God threatens to ſend among a people as an heavy judgment, Deut. xxviii. 24. "when he will make the rain of a land powder and duſt") moſt grievouſly annoy all thoſe amongſt whom they fall, enough to ſmite them all with a preſent blindneſs; filling their eyes, ears, noſtrils, and their mouths are not free if they be not alſo well guarded; ſearching every place, as well within as without our tents or houſes, ſo that there is not a little key-hole, of any trunk or cabinet, if it be not covered, but receives ſome of that duſt into it, the duſt forced to find a lodging any where, every where, being ſo driven and forced, as it is, by the extreme violence of the wind.

But there is no place nor country under Heaven, nor yet ever hath been, without ſome diſcommodities. The garden of Eden had a ſerpent in it, Gen. iii. He that made all things by his abſolute command, hath ſo mixed, and tempered, and ordered all things here below, by his infinite wiſdom, that either too much heat, or too much cold, either the barrenneſs of the ſoil, or the unwholſomeneſs of the air, or ſomething elſe, miniſters matter of exception more or leſs againſt every place, that the

ſons of men might hence learn, that there is no true and perfect content to be found in any kingdom, but in that of Heaven: For while we are here, trouble and peace, mourning and joy, comfort and diſcontent, come all of them by courſes and ſucceſſions, ſo that there is no weeding up of thoſe tares, no removing of thoſe annoyances from the life of man.

And ſo having obſerved what is truth, and what is enough to be ſaid of the inconveniencies and annoyances, as well as of the commodities and contentments which are to be found in thoſe parts, I come now to ſpeak of the people that inhabit there. And becauſe many particulars will neceſſarily fall within the compaſs of this part of my obſervations, which would more weary my reader if they ſhould be preſented unto him in one continued diſcourſe, I ſhall therefore (as I have begun) break this into ſections, and proceed to ſpeak

SECTION V.

Of the Inhabitants of Eaſt-India, who they are, of their moſt excellent Ingenuity expreſſed by their curious Manufactures, their Markets at Home to buy and ſell in, and their Trade Abroad.

THE inhabitants in general of Indoſtan were all antiently Gentiles, called in general Hindoes, belonging to that very great number

number of thoſe which are called Heathens, which take up almoſt two thirds of the number of the people who inhabit the face of the whole earth: But of this more hereafter. There are ſome Jews (but they are not many) here and there ſcattered and loſt, as it were, in thoſe other great numbers of people; the greateſt company of Jews now to be found together in any one place of the world (as I have been made to believe from the obſervation of others) are to be ſeen at Grand Cairo, in Egypt, whither they are returned, and where ſettled, to take their fill of their forefathers fleſh-pots. For the inhabitants of Eaſt-India, ever ſince they were ſubdued by Tamerlane, they have been mixed with Mahometans, which though they be by far in reſpect of their number leſs than thoſe Pagans, yet they bear all the ſway, and command all in thoſe countries.

There are beſides theſe, now become as it were natives there, a great number of Perſians and Tartars, who are Mahometans by religion, that there inhabit, very many of which the Mogul keeps for ſoldiers to ſerve on horſeback, called there Haddees: There are of both theſe many daring, ſtout, hardy, and valiant men. For the Perſians, there are of them many comely perſons, not ſo ſwarthy as thoſe of Eaſt-India. But for the Tartars I have there ſeen, and I have ſeen many of them, they are

more

more to be commended for their valour than beauty, a ſquare, ſtout, ſtrong people, having platter faces, and flat noſes. There are many Armenians and ſome Abiſſins amongſt them, who wear the livery of Chriſt, in being called Chriſtians, the greateſt part of whoſe Chriſtianity lies in their name. Thoſe Armenians there make ſome wine to ſell, of raiſins, ſugar, and other ingredients, that is ſtrong, heady, and luſcious, taſted too much by many Chriſtians that come thither, as by thoſe too that make it. Of the green grapes there, though they have abundance, and they great, ſweet, and good, yet they make no wine at all. The Mahometans, in obedience to a precept of Mahomet's which forbids wine, neither make nor drink it, and others are not ſuffered there to make it of thoſe green grapes, for fear, as I ſuppoſe, they ſhould make and drink too much of it.

To thoſe I have named of other nations, (that are to be ſeen in Eaſt-India) there are beſides ſome few almoſt of every people in Aſia, and many Europeans of divers parts, (that uſe to ſtir from their own fires) to be found amongſt them; and among that great variety of people and nations there to be obſerved, I have taken ſpecial notice of divers Chineſe and Japaneſe there, and thoſe I have ſeen of them for the generality, are a people of no large ſtature, with little eyes, and noſes ſomething flatted, *de tribus Capillis*, with a few black

black hairs that ſtand ſcattered on their upper lips, which make them as handſome beards as are to be ſeen on our hares or cats.

There are ſome Jews here (as I before obſerved) whoſe ſtubbornneſs and rebellion, long ago, cauſed almighty God to threaten them, that they ſhould be after ſifted, and ſcattered among all the nations of the world. So the prophet Jeremy ſpeaks, Jer. xxiv. 9. that God would deliver them "to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth, for their hurt, to be a reproach, and a proverb, and a taunt, and a curſe, in all places whither he ſhall drive them." And Jer. xlii. 18. they were threatened to be made "an execration and an aſtoniſhment, &c." and ſo after it came to paſs, for, "there is no word of the Lord that ſhall fall to the ground unfulfilled." And ſince theſe propheſies, that antient imprecation of their own, ſpoken againſt themſelves in deriſion of our bleſſed Saviour, Mat. xxvii. 25. "his blood be on us, and on our children," follows them cloſe all the world over, they being every where ſtrangers, but no where beloved; though they be a people that get wealth whereſoever they come, yet this frees them not from a proverb (as was long before propheſied) of contempt and reproach.

Thoſe antient ſatyriſts, Perſius and Juvenal, after that moſt horrid act committed by them in crucifying our bleſſed Saviour, (though not in reſpect to that moſt cruel action, for they

they were Heathens) yet they call them *Verpos*, that is, circumciſed worms, vermin. Tacitus after gives them a moſt unſavoury epithet, calling them *fœtentes Judæos*, ſtinking Jews. Marcus the Emperor obſerving them well, concluded that they were a generation of men worſe than ſavages or canibals, to be even the worſt of men, as if they were the very refuſe and dregs of mankind.

How uſual is that proverb, that when men are ſuſpected to do otherwiſe than they ſhould, to anſwer, "what, am I a Jew, that I ſhould do ſo and ſo?" I have obſerved ſomething to this purpoſe, from the people of Eaſt-India, who are very valiant at tongue-fights, though not ſo with their weapons, (as you will hear afterward) that people I ſay, who have a very nimble but a baſe quality in railing at and miſcalling one another, and their language is ſo full and ſignificant, that they can call a man in it two or three baſe things in one word; but when they come to call him whom they miſcall *Judeo*, Jew, they believe (as I have been often told) that they can go no higher, eſteeming that, above all other terms, the higheſt name of obloquy.

Yet we do believe (becauſe the Lord hath promiſed it) that he will find a time to call home this people again to himſelf, when they ſhall receive honour above all the contempt they have been long under, after they ſhall ſee with ſorrow, and with the eye of faith, Him whom

whom their forefathers, out of ignorance, deſpite, and unbelief, pierced.

For the ſtature of the natives of Eaſt-India, they are like us, but generally very ſtrait, for I never obſerved nor heard of any crooked perſon amongſt them. And one reaſon may be becauſe they never lace nor girt in their bodies, and when they ſleep, they accuſtom themſelves to ſtretch out their bodies at their full length, without any thing to raiſe up their heads. And further, amongſt many other things I took ſpecial notice of there, I never obſerved any deformed perſon, nor ideot, or natural fool, in thoſe parts.

Now for the complexion of this people, they are all of them of a ſad tawney, or olive colour, their hair black as a raven, very harſh, but not curled. They like not a man or woman that is very white or fair, becauſe that (as they ſay) is the colour of lepers, common amongſt them. Moſt of the Mahometans, except the Moolaes (which are the prieſts) or thoſe which are very old and retired, and have (as it were) given the world quite over, keep their chins continually bare, but ſuffer the hair on their upper lips to grow very long, and they keep it in its natural colour by combing it continually with black lead combs, till they be of good years; but afterward, when time hath ſo ſhowed upon them, that they can no longer keep in nor conceal their grey hairs, they uſe the razor (as they did) no more,

more, but let the hair of their chins to grow long and large, which makes many grey beards amongſt them, and I conceive that there are of thoſe many old men.

And further, it is the manner of the Mahometans to ſhave all the hair from off their heads, reſerving only one lock on the crown of them for Mahomet to pull them up to Heaven (as they fondly conceit.) The Hindooes ſhave their heads likewiſe, but cut all off, and both of them ſhave thus, and that very often; but however their baldneſs appears not at all, becauſe their heads are continually covered with a ſhaſh, or a wreath of narrow callico cloth many times wrapt about them, (uſually for the colour white or red) which they never pull off, as we do our hats in compliments. Their much and often ſhaving makes many excellent barbers amongſt them, who beſides their ſciſſars and razors uſe a little inſtrument about the length of a ſhort bodkin, very ſharp, made like a chiſel, but not broader at the cutting end than the ſhank of a ſixpenny nail, with which they pare and cleanſe the nails on their fingers and toes. Every barber carries always about him a round looking-glaſs, made of ſteel, about the compaſs of a large trencher plate, made ſomewhat hollow, and kept by them exceeding clean and ſleek, ſo that it will repreſent the face of him that beholds it on the convex ſide very well. Theſe barbers, as they

they walk up and down, often preſent theſe glaſſes unto men whom they find ſitting ſtill, which is a tender of their ſervice if they ſhall pleaſe to make uſe of them.

The people there often waſh their bodies, and keep their feet as clean and as ſweet as their hands. The better ſort anoint themſelves very much with ſweet oils, which makes their company (as before I obſerved) very ſavoury.

The natives there (of which there is ſomething before in my third ſection) ſhew very much ingenuity in their curious manufactures; as in their ſilk ſtuffs, which they moſt artificially weave, ſome of them very neatly mingled either with ſilver or gold, or both. As alſo in making excellent quilts of their ſtained cloth, or of freſh coloured taffata, lined with their pintadoes, or of their ſattin lined with taffata, betwixt which they put cotton wool, and work them together with ſilk. Thoſe taffata or ſattin quilts are excellently ſtitched by them, being done as evenly, and in as good order, as if they had been drawn out for them for their direction, the better to work them. They make likewiſe excellent carpets of their cotton wool, in fine mingled colours, ſome of them more than three yards broad, and of a great length. Some other richer carpets they make all of ſilk, ſo artificially mixed, as that they lively repreſent thoſe flowers and figures made in them. The ground of ſome other

of

of their very rich carpets is ſilver or gold, about which are ſuch ſilken flowers and figures as before I named, moſt excellently and orderly diſpoſed throughout the whole work.

Their ſkill is likewiſe exquiſite in making of cabinets, boxes, trunks, and ſtandiſhes, curiouſly wrought, within and without; inlaid with elephants teeth, or mother of pearl, ebony, tortoiſe-ſhell, or wire; they make excellent cups, and other things, of agate and cornelian, and curious they are in cutting all manner of ſtones, diamonds as well as others.

They paint ſtaves, or bedſteads, cheſts of boxes, fruit diſhes, or large chargers, extremely neat, which when they be not inlaid, as before, they cover the wood, firſt being handſomely turned, with a thick gum, then put their paint on, moſt artificially made of liquid ſilver, or gold, or other lively colours, which they uſe, and after make it much more beautiful with a very clear varniſh put upon it.

They are excellent at limning, and will copy out any picture they ſee to the life; for confirmation of which take this inſtance: It happened that my Lord Ambaſſador viſiting the Mogul on a time, as he did often, he preſented him with a curious neat ſmall oval picture done to the life in England. The Mogul was much pleaſed with it, but told the Ambaſſador withal, that happily he ſuppoſed there was never a one in his country that could do ſo well in that curious art, and then offered

fered to wager with him a lack of roopes (a ſum which amounted to no leſs than 10,000*l.* ſterling) that in a few days he would have two copies made by that preſented to him, ſo like, that the Ambaſſador ſhould not know his own. He refuſed the great wager, but told the King he would adventure his judgment on it: Two copies taken from that original, were within a few days after made and brought, and laid before the Ambaſſador, in the preſence of the King; the Ambaſſador viewing them long, either out of courtſhip to pleaſe the King, or elſe unable to make a difference twixt the pictures, being all exquiſitely done, took one of them which was new made, for that which he had formerly preſented, and did after profeſs that he did not flatter, but miſtake in that choice. The truth is, that the natives of that monarchy are the beſt apes for imitation in the world, ſo full of ingenuity, that they will make any new thing by pattern, how hard ſoever it ſeem to be done; and therefore it is no marvel if the natives there make ſhoes, boots, cloaths, linen, bands, and cuffs, of our Engliſh faſhion, which are all of them very much different from their faſhions and habits, and yet make them all exceedingly neat.

They have markets, which they call bazars, to ſell and buy their commodities, in all their great towns twice every day, a little before, and an hour after ſun-riſing in the morning, and ſo a little before and a little after Sun-ſet,

at night; the other parts of the day being too hot for thoſe great confluences of people to meet together; and thoſe are the ſeaſons we Engliſhmen there make uſe of to ride abroad, and take the air, the reſt of the day we uſually ſpend in our houſes. The people there ſell almoſt all their proviſions, as very many other things, by weight.

For the foreign trade of this people, it is uſually once a year into the Red Sea to a city called Moha, in Arabia the happy, about thirty leagues from the mouth of it: It is a principal mart for all Indian commodities, but the ſtaple and moſt principal there vended is their cotton cloth, either white or ſtained, and their cotton wool. Hither they come from Grand Cairo, in Egypt, as from many other parts of the Turk's dominions, to traffick. Hither they come from Preſter John's country, which lies on the other ſide of the Arabian gulf, for ſo the Red Sea is there called, and not above fourteen leagues over at the city Moha.

The ſhip or junk, for ſo it is called, that uſually goes from Surat to Moha, is of an exceeding great burden, ſome of them I believe fourteen or fifteen hundred tons, or more, but thoſe huge veſſels are very ill built, like an over-grown lighter, broad and ſhort, but made exceeding big, on purpoſe to waſt paſſengers forward and backward; which are Mahometans, who go on purpoſe to viſit Mahomet's ſepulchre, at Medina, near Mecca, but

but many miles beyond Moha. The paſſengers, and others, in that moſt capacious veſſel, that went and returned that year I left India, (as we were credibly told) amounted to the number of ſeventeen hundred. Thoſe Mahometans that have viſited Mahomet's ſepulchre, are after called Hoggees, or holy men.

This junk, bound from Surat to the Red Sea, as ſhe hath many people in her, ſo hath ſhe good ordnance, but thoſe navigators know not well how to uſe them for their defence. She begins her voyage about the twentieth of March, and finiſheth it about the end of September following. The voyage is but ſhort, and might eaſily be made in leſs than three months, but the ſhip is very ſlow, and ill-built to abide foul weather, and in a long ſeaſon of the rain, and a little before and after it, the winds upon thoſe coaſts are commonly ſo violent, that there is no coming but with much hazard into the Indian ſea. This ſhip returning is uſually worth (as I have heard it faithfully reported, and if my credit given to that report make me not to abuſe my readers) two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and moſt of it brought back in good gold and ſilver; ſome fine camlets they bring with them home likewiſe; but that huge maſs of wealth thus brought home into India, is another eſpecial thing, and might have been added to that I ſpake of before towards the continual enriching of this great monarchy; where, in the next place I ſhall ſpeak,

SECTION IV.

Of the Care and Skill of this People in keeping and managing their excellent good Horſes. Of their Elephants, and their ordering and managing them. And how the People ride and are carried up and down from Place to Place.

THE ſoldiery here, and ſo many of the gentry and better ſort of the people, who live at court, ſhew excellent good ſkill in riding and managing of their well turn'd, high metall'd choice horſes, which are excellent good at mounting up, bounding and curvetting, and when they run them at their full ſwifteſt ſpeed will ſtop them at a foot's breadth; for the ſcantling of thoſe creatures, they are in proportion like ours, but excellently well ey'd, headed, limbed; for their colours, there are ſome of them raven black, but many more of them white, curiouſly dappled; and a very great number pied and ſpotted all over, and there are ſome of other bright colours. But it is a uſual cuſtom there amongſt gallants, who ride upon the bright coloured horſes, to have their legs and lower parts of their bellies and breaſts dyed into a ſaffron colour, of which they have much there, which makes them look as if they had ſtood in a dyer's vate, juſt up to ſuch an heighth of their bodies.

The hair upon their horſes, whom they keep plump and fat, is very ſhort, ſoft, and lies ſleek

ſleek upon them; and I wonder not at it, they are kept ſo daintily, every horſe being allowed a man to dreſs and feed him, and to run by him when he is rode forth; and this is all his work.

They tie not down their horſe-heads, when they ſtand ſtill, as we do, with halters, but ſecure each horſe with two ropes, faſtened to their hind feet, which ropes are ſomewhat long, to be ſtaked down behind them in tents, or other places wherein they are kept.

They cut graſs for them green or withered on the earth as they have occaſion to uſe it, never mowing their ground and making hay as we do. But that which keeps their horſes in heart, and in fleſh, is the provender they eat, which is a kind of round grain they call donna, ſomewhat bigger than our tares, which they give not unto them dry, but boiled, and mingled with ſome coarſe ſugar amongſt it, and when it is cold give it them made up in round balls, which they put into their mouths as if they cramm'd them; and ſometimes they put a little butter into theſe balls to ſcour their bodies.

Their choice good horſes are valued there at as dear, if not an higher rate, than thoſe we eſteem moſt of in England are prized with us. They make excellent ſaddles, and ſome of them of great value, adorned with handſome and rich trappings, all of them very eaſy both for the horſe and his rider. They manage

their horſes with ſtrong ſnaffles, whoſe reins and head-ſtalls are made ſuitable to their ſaddles and trappings.

The elephants in this vaſt monarchy are very numerous, and though they be the largeſt, and that by far, of all the creatures the earth brings forth, yet are they ſo tractable, unleſs at ſome times when the males are mad, (of which more afterward) as that a boy of twelve years old is able to rule the biggeſt of them; in which we may in a ſpecial manner read a comment on that truth which tells us how that the Lord hath put "the fear of man upon all the creatures here below," even upon the greateſt of them as well as the leaſt. "Thou makeſt him (ſaith David, Pſal. viii. 6, 7.) to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou haſt put all things under his feet; all ſheep and oxen, yea and the beaſts of the field, &c.") Now if almighty God ſhould let looſe the creatures upon man, if he ſhould let go thoſe reins by which they are reſtrained, and ſuffer the creatures to renounce their obedience to man, when man throws off his yoak of obedience to God, what miſchief might not thoſe vaſt overgrown creatures do in thoſe parts where there are ſo many of them? nay, what miſchief might not any other creatures do, even the leaſt of them, as the locuſt, the canker-worm, and caterpillar, &c. which are called "God's great army," Joel ii. 25. if God ſhould give them commiſſion

commiſſion to put themſelves in battle-array and to march forth to vex and annoy the nations of the earth?

We may read Ex. viii. how that all the power that Pharaoh and Egypt were able to make, could not guard and defend them from the incurſions made upon them, and miſchiefs done to them, by frogs, lice, and flies. There are ſpirits which are created for vengeance (ſaith Syracides) &c. as the teeth of wild beaſts, and ſcorpions and ſerpents, puniſhing the wicked to deſtruction, they rejoice to do God's commandment, &c. If almighty God ſhould free the creatures from their ſubjection, they would be able with their horns and hoofs, their fangs, teeth, beaks, claws, and ſtings, (which are their natural artillery) exceedingly to annoy, if not to deſtroy man from the face of the earth.

But for the elephants, I have began to ſpeak of, they are very huge, vaſt, overgrown creatures, ſome of them which I have ſeen I eſteem at the leaſt twelve feet high, but there are amongſt them, as they ſay, fourteen or fifteen feet in height. The colour of them all is black; their ſkins thick and ſmooth, without hair; they have full eyes, but not proportionable to their great bodies; they have ears like our oxen, but not exceeding large, and thoſe ears edged (as it were) about with a ſhort hair fringe; and at the end of their tails (which are ſlender and not very long)

there grows ſome hair likewiſe, and a little on their eye-lids, but no where elſe about their bodies.

The feet of the elephants, look like the trunks of ſmall trees cut ſquare off from their roots, round about which there are thick, ſhort, and broad claws growing.

Some that write of them have abuſed the world with this tradition, that they have no joints in their legs, and therefore ſtand when they ſleep againſt the trees to hold them up, which is all very falſe, for they lie down and ariſe again at their pleaſure, as other beaſts do.

Their motion is not ſwift, a walking rather than a pace, about three miles at the moſt an hour; but of all beaſts that carry burdens, they are moſt ſure of foot, for they never fall, nor yet tumble to endanger their rider.

They are moſt docile creatures, and of all thoſe we account merely ſenſible come neareſt unto reaſon.

Lipſius, in his Epiſtles, Cent. 1. Epiſt. 30. out of his obſervation from others, writes more of them than I can confirm, or any, I perſuade myſelf, believe; yet many things moſt remarkable, which ſeem indeed to be acts of reaſon rather than ſenſe, I have obſerved in them; for inſtance, an elephant will do any thing his keeper commands him; as if he bid him to affright a man, he will make towards him as if he meant to tread him into pieces, but when he is come at him do

him

him no hurt at all; ſo if he would have him to abuſe or to diſgrace a man, he will take dirt or duſt, or kennel-water, into his trunk, and daſh it on his face.

Their trunks are griſly ſnouts of a great length, hanging down betwixt their long teeth, which teeth nature hath given them for their defence, otherwiſe they are of little uſe to them. In their trunks they have ſuch marvellous ſtrength, that by them they can do very much miſchief; for if they ſtrike a horſe or camel, or any other the like beaſt with them, (as ſometimes they do when they are mad) they will ſo break their bones, as that they will ſpoil, nay kill them at one blow, and much more a man if he chance to come in their way.

Thoſe trunks of the elephants are to them as an hand by which they feed themſelves, and make great uſe of them otherwiſe upon all occaſions, for with thoſe trunks they tear off boughs from trees, by winding them about them, and after, with them, put boughs into their mouths, and eat the tendereſt parts of them. With theſe they pull up green corn (if they be ſuffered) and graſs by the roots, and then againſt their legs beat off the earth and duſt that hangs about them, before they eat thereof. Thus they deal with ſedge or weeds which they find in the water, firſt waſhing off the dirt which hangs on the roots thereof, and then down they go into their vaſt bellies.

The

The elephants delight much to bathe themſelves in water, in which, when they find depth enough, they ſwim as well as any other creatures.

I obſerved before, that the male elephants when they grow luſty are ſometimes mad for their females, but in a few days come again in temper; before which time they are ſo miſchievous, that they will ſtrike any thing, but their keepers, that comes in their way; and their ſtrength is ſuch (as before I obſerv'd) that there is no blow they give which lights either upon men or beaſts, but carries death with it. At thoſe times, to prevent miſchief, they are kept apart from company, fettered with ſtrong chains unto trees; but if by chance in their phrenzy they get looſe, (as ſometimes they do) they will make after every thing they ſee ſtir, in which caſe they have no means to ſtop them in their violent courſe but by firing of crackers made of gun-powder, whoſe ſparkling and noiſe makes them to ſtand ſtill and tremble. When thoſe creatures are in that mad diſtemper, they ſweat much, which makes their ſavour exceeding rank and filthy, like that ill ſmell of a boar when he is fatting in his ſtye, but by much more ſtrong, and more offenſive than that.

An Engliſh merchant there, of good credit, upon his own knowledge, reported this thing which follows, and is very obſervable, of an elephant in Aſmere, (the place then of the

the Mogul's reſidence) who being brought often through the Bazar, or market-place, a woman who uſually ſat there to ſell herbs, was wont to give this great elephant a handful, as he many times paſſed by; this elephant after, being mad, brake his fetters, and took his way through that Bazar; the people being all of them much affrighted, made haſte to ſecure themſelves by getting out of his way, amongſt whom was this herb-woman, who, for fear and haſte, forgot her little child which ſhe had brought thither; the elephant came to the place where this woman uſually ſat, ſtopt, and ſeeing a little child lying there about her herbs, took it up gently with his trunk, not doing it the leaſt harm, and preſently after laid it down upon the ſtall of a houſe that was hard by; and then proceeded on in his furious courſe. Acoſta, a Jeſuit, relates the like of an elephant in Goa, from his own experience.

The elephant, though he be vaſt and terrible, yea and cruel too, when he is ſet to do miſchief, or when he is mad, yet otherwiſe is a tame gentle creature, ſo that the dread of this huge beaſt moſt appears to the eyes. But notwithſtanding his terribleneſs, I once there ſaw a creature compared with an elephant, not much bigger than a ſmall fiſh compared with a whale, boldly to encounter one of them. The occaſion by which this ſo came to paſs offers itſelf thus; that year I went for Eaſt-

India,

India, the merchants here (as from the King of England, in whoſe name they ſent all their preſents) amongſt many other things, then ſent the Mogul ſome great Engliſh maſtiffs, and ſome large Iriſh grey-hounds, in all to the number of eight, diſperſed in our ſeveral ſhips; one of thoſe high-ſpirited maſtiffs in our voyage thither, upon a day ſeeing a great ſhoal or company of porpoiſes, before deſcribed, mounting up above the waves, and coming toward that ſhip wherein he was, ſuddenly leapt overboard to encounter with them, before any did take notice of that fierce creature, to prevent that engagement, wherein he was irrecoverably loſt, the ſhip then having ſuch a freſh gale of wind, that ſhe could not ſuddenly ſlack her courſe, whereby that poor creature might have been preſerved. Another, one of the Iriſh grey-hounds, had his head ſhot off in our ſight. The mange was the deſtruction of four more of them, only two of the maſtiffs came alive to East-India, and they were carried up, each of them drawn in a little coach, when I went up to the Embaſſador, that he might preſent them to the Mogul. The fierceſt of theſe two, in our way thither, upon a time breaking looſe, fell upon a very large elephant that was hard by us, faſtening his teeth in the elephant's trunk, and kept his hold there a good while, which made that huge beaſt extremely to roar; and though the elephant did ſwing the maſtiff up and

down

down above ground many time (as not feeling his weight) that he might throw him off; yet he could not ſuddenly do it, but at laſt freeing himſelf from the dog, by throwing him a good ſpace from him, there came a mungrel cur of that country towards our maſtiff, who then left that his moſt unequal match, fell upon that dog and kill'd him, by which means we recovered our maſtiff again into our cuſtody, he not having received any apparent hurts; by which we may ſee how much courage and mettle there is in thoſe right fierce maſtiffs.

This ſtory pleaſed the Mogul very much when the dogs were preſented to him, and he allowed each of them four attendants of thoſe natives to wait upon them, who by turns two and two carried them up and down with him in palankees, after deſcribed, to which they were tied, and the other two went by them, fanning the flies from off them; and the King cauſed a pair of ſilver tongs to be made on purpoſe, that with them when he pleaſed he might feed thoſe dogs with his own hand.—But this ſtory by the way.

The Mogul hath many of his great elephants traiſ'd up for the war, who carry each of them one iron gun, about five feet long, lying upon a ſtrong frame of wood, made ſquare, that is fitted to a thick broad pannel faſtened about him, with very ſtrong and broad girles or girts. The gun like an harquebuſh hath a

piece

piece of iron like a muſket-reſt, faſtened on the ſides thereof, made looſe to play up and down. The bottom of that iron reſt ſo fixed is long, to be let through that frame of wood on the foreſide, and ſo to be keyed in at the bottom. At the four corners of this frame are ſmall flags of ſilk, with ſundry devices painted on them, put upon little neat coloured ſtaves; upon the neck of the elephant ſits a man to guide him, and within the frame a gunner, to make his ſhot as he finds occaſion. The piece thus mounted carries a bullet about the bigneſs of a tennis-ball.

Some elephants the King keeps for the execution of malefactors; the manner how follows in ſection 23. And ſome he keeps to carry himſelf and women; and ſome elephants are kept for ſtate, of which more when I ſhall come to ſpeak more particularly of the Great Mogul. Other elephants are there employed for the carrying of burdens, their ſtrength being ſo great that they will bear a marvellous weight.

The elephants are all governed with a ſmall rod of ſteel about half a yard long, made ſharp on the lower end, and towards that end there is a hook returned, like a fiſh-hook, that is very ſharp likewiſe, by which their riders ſitting on their necks pull them back or prick them forward at their pleaſure.

Theſe vaſt creatures, though the country be exceeding fruitful, and all proviſions in it cheap,

cheap, yet by reaſon of their huge bulk, if they be well kept and fed, are very chargeable in keeping; they are kept uſually under the ſhade of great trees, where by a ſtrong chain of iron upon one of their hind legs they faſten them. And as they ſtand, the abundance of flies vex them, and therefore with their fore feet they make duſt, (the ground uſually being very dry) and with their trunks caſt the duſt about their bodies to drive away thoſe flies from them.

The King allows every one of thoſe great male elephants four females, which in their language they call their wives. Theſe brutes, as they ſay, will not endure any to behold them when they are coupling together; which may condemn many who call themſelves men and women, but have ſo loſt all modeſty, that "they are not aſhamed when they commit any act of filthineſs, no they are not aſhamed, neither can they bluſh." The female elephants, as they further ſay, carry their young one whole year e're they bring them forth, thirty years expire e're they come to their full growth, and they fulfil the accuſtomed age of men e're they die. And laſtly, notwithſtanding the great number there of thoſe vaſt creatures, and the exceſſive charge in keeping them well, they value them at exceeding high rates.

For this people, when as they journey from place to place, the men of the inferior ſort go all on foot, their women that cannot ſo travel ride

ride on little oxen, inured to carry burdens, or on aſſes, which carry their little children with them; the women like the men aſtride. Others that are of better quality ride on horſes, mules, camels, dromedaries, or elſe in ſlight coaches with two wheels, covered on the top and back end, but the fore part and ſides open, unleſs they carry women. Thoſe coaches will carry four perſons beſide the driver, but two may lie at eaſe, and at length in them, upon quilts, that lie in the body of them, upheld by girt-web, with which they are bottom'd, which makes them by far more eaſy. Theſe coaches are covered for men of quality, with ſomething that is coſtly; much of our Engliſh broad-cloth, that is dyed red, is there bought from us, and employed for that uſe. At the back end of this coach they have a long round bolſter, that reacheth both ſides, ſtuffed with cotton wool, and covered with velvet or ſattin, or with ſome other thing that is rich. Theſe coaches are drawn by oxen, one yoak to a coach, ſome of which oxen have their ſhort horns neatly tipped with ſilver plate, and ſome others with braſs; and they have each of them a fine collar of large round bells, ſome of them made of ſilver. They are paired and ſuited as our coach horſes for ſtature and colour; moſt of them thus employed are white, and ſome pyed, or ſpotted all over with ſeveral colours. They are guided with ſmall cords, which go through the parting of their noſtrils, and ſo

'twixt

'twixt their horns into the coachman's hand, who by theſe reſtrains them when, and guides them how he pleaſeth; and when he would have them go on, pricks them forward with a ſmall and ſhort ſtaff he keeps in his hand pointed like a goad. Theſe oxen there are very neatly made, ſlender, ſtrait limb'd, and not very large, but naturally very nimble, and by daily uſe made ſo fit to perform that labour, (being kept well ſhod) as that they go twenty miles a day, and more, with good ſpeed. They keep theſe oxen for this ſervice, as their horſes, well dreſſed, and ſo well fed, that they be plump and fat, and conſequently very handſome to behold.

The men there of the greateſt rank and quality, ride ſometimes in thoſe coaches, and ſometimes on their curious horſes, and ſometimes on their brave elephants; but however they are carried, they have their horſes, which wait upon them when they go abroad, that they may beſtride them when they pleaſe. And at other times they ride on mens ſhoulders in a ſlight thing they call a palankee, made ſomewhat like a couch or ſtanding pallat, covered with a canopy, wherein a man may lie at his full length, as many of thoſe grandees do, when they are removed from place to place, giving themſelves up to eaſe, and over unto thoſe ſins which follow it; and while they are thus carried, they make the ſhoulders and joints of thoſe that feel their heavy weight to

bow and buckle under their burdens. This, as it ſhould ſeem, was an ancient, but a baſe effeminacy, ſometimes uſed in Rome. Juvenal, in his firſt ſatire, deſcribing a fat lawyer thus carried.

Cauſidici, nova cum veniat Lectica, Mathonis,
Plena ipſo.——

Matho the pleader comes in his new chair,
Fill'd with himſelf, when he takes the air.

It had been well if ſuch carriages as theſe had been never heard of but in then heathen Rome, or amongſt poor blinded Indians; but *Væ nobis miſeris ad quos Paganorum vicia tranſierunt*; Woe to us wretched people of this nation, unto whom the vices of Pagans are derived. It was a curſe that the old Cretans were wont to wiſh might fall upon their greateſt enemies, that they might fall in love with evil cuſtoms. This doubtleſs is one amongſt many more, fallen upon us of this nation, when ſome, not out of neceſſity, but choice, make other men their pack-horſes, to ride upon them; a thing, as I conceive of it, moſt unworthy of a man, as he is a man, ſo to do.

I am no leveller, I hate the thought of it, as a wild fancy, and phrenzy that is moſt deſtructive; knowing that there is an abſolute neceſſity amongſt men of ſuperiority and ſubordination, where ſome muſt command and others obey. A head alone, without inferior members,

members, is a monſter, not a body. Yet however, I would have all thoſe who are maſters and ſuperiors ſo to demean themſelves towards their underlings and ſervants, in all things, as always remembring that they have a maſter in Heaven, with whom there is no reſpect of perſons." Eph. vi. 9.

For men, let them exalt themſelves never ſo high, if they will not for the preſent learn, they ſhall one day be made to know, that there are higher than they. All great ones therefore, who overlook thoſe of low degree, believing themſelves taller than all of them by head and ſhoulders, had need of ſuch a daily remembrancer as Symonides was to Pauſanias; or that page to Philip King of Macedon, who, by that King's ſpecial commandment, was to cry every morning in his ears, Μιμνεσο ὦ βασιλευ, *Remember, O King, that thou art a Man.* I ſay, very many have need of ſuch remembrancers, (who exalt themſelves too much above others) to tell them that they are but men. *Homo ſum, humanum à me nil alienum puto.* And being but men, ſhould do nothing but what well becomes humanity. Therefore, though many which are very poor, who to gain bread are content to ſubmit themſelves unto any low conditions; yet others (twixt whom and them nothing ſo much as an inequality of eſtate makes the main difference) ſhould not thus employ them; if not for the man's, yet for his manhood ſake; not put ſuch a vaſt diſ-

tance, ſuch a main difference betwixt others and themſelves, made of the very ſelf-ſame mould, and happily more graciouſly beheld by that inviſible eye than themſelves are, before whom they muſt firſt or laſt all appear, and that upon equal terms.

But I ſhall here digreſs no further, but return again to that people (I mean thoſe of quality amongſt them) who out of pride, or idleneſs, or both, are thus carried up and down, or by ſome other means I named before, tho' they remove never ſo little way from one place to another, accounting it very diſhonourable for them to go on foot. And ſo much of this. I ſhall now proceed, (having made mention of their huge multitudes of horſes and elephants, &c. to take notice,

SECTION VII.

Of their numerous Armies; their Ammunition for War; how they lade themſelves with Weapons; how terrible they appear; yet how puſillanimous, and low-ſpirited they are.

WHERE firſt, for their numerous armies, it will appear to be no ſtrange thing, if we conſider the Great Mogul to be what he is, an over-grown Prince, (as before deſcribed) in the vaſt extent of his large territories; being like a huge pike in a great pond,

pond, that preys upon all his neighbours, who therefore purchaſe and keep his favour by very great preſents given him by way of homage, and a ſubmiſs acknowledgement of his mighty power. And beſides, the Mogul is maſter of an unknown treaſure, having ſilver, as 'tis written of Solomon, 1 Kings, x. 27. like ſtones in the ſtreets; and certainly in far greater abundance than ever Solomon had. Though I muſt tell my reader, that all metals there are not ſilver and gold, nor all ſtones precious. Now he that can command what treaſure he will, may likewiſe command what men he pleaſe, as the Mogul doth, beſides his own people. Many Perſians and Tartars (before ſpoken of) very valiant men, who ſerve him as ſoldiers on horſeback, and ſo the major part by far, whether natives or ſtrangers, are mounted for his ſervice in his wars.

Hence it is that the armies there conſiſt of incredible multitudes; they talk of ſome which have exceeded that mighty "hoſt which Zerah, King of Ethiopia brought againſt King Aſa," 2 Chron. xiv. 9. but they not having well learned that horrid bloody art of war, as the Europeans have, and wanting commanders and other officers to manage their great companies, are not ſo ſkilful to deſtroy, as otherwiſe they might be: It is a phraſe moſt properly and fitly applied unto ſavage, abſurd, brutiſh, and unreaſonable man, to the enemies of God and his church, by the prophet Eze-

kiel, xxi. 31. where Almighty God threatens "that he will deliver them into the hands of brutish men, skilful to destroy."

The weapons they use in war are bows and arrows, swords and bucklers, short lances, having excellent good steel heads, and short pieces like unto carbines; besides those carried upon elephants (before described) some foot-men in their wars carry those lesser guns, with bows and arrows, swords and bucklers, and they are excellent marksmen. They make good gun-powder for their own use, and fire their guns with match or touch-wood. Their swords are made crooked like falchions, and are very sharp, but for want of skill in those that temper them, will easily break, but not bend. And therefore we sell at good rates our English sword-blades that will bow, and become strait again. They have (and they say that for many generations past they have had) great ordnance, though they seldom make use of them in their wars.

Their warlike musick are some kettle-drums carried on horseback, with long wind instruments, which make not musick, but noise so harsh, and unpleasing, that it is enough to fright away their enemies.

They say, that in their military engagements, they make at the first very furious onsets, which are too violent long to continue, for the scale soon decides the controversy, when that side which happens first to be worsted and

to

to be put into diſorder, knows better to run than to rally again.

There are ſome of the Mogul's own ſubjects which are men of courage; thoſe of note among the Mahometans are called Baloches, inhabiting Haiacan, adjoining unto the kingdom of Perſia, (ſpoken of before) and there are others called Patans, taking their denomination from a province of that name in the kingdom of Bengala. Theſe will look an enemy boldly in the face, and maintain with their lives their reputation and valour. Amongſt the many ſects of Hindoues, or Gentiles, (after ſpoken of) which are ſubject to this King, there is but one race of fighters, called Raſhboots, a number of which live by ſpoil, who in troops ſurprize poor paſſengers, for the moſt part murdering thoſe whom they get under their power. Theſe excepted, the reſt of the Mogul's natives, for the generality of them, had rather eat than quarrel, and rather quarrel than fight. I ſay quarrel, for I have ſeveral times obſerved there, that when two of them have been both well armed, and have moſt ſhamefully abuſed one another, in baſer language than I can expreſs, yet durſt not draw their weapons; in concluſion, when one of them hath caught the other by the throat, and forced him up againſt ſome wall, the ſufferer would cry out piteouſly, and the ſtanders by would admire the other for his valour, ſaying Sha-Abas; a proverbial ſpeech amongſt them relating to the late King of Perſia, called

Sha-Abas, a prince much renowned for valour; and when any man did a thing they thought gallantly, they cried Sha-Abas, as much as to ſay, it was done as well as the Perſian King could have done it.

Yet, however the people here in general are cowardly, they appear men of very terrible aſpects, having great long muſtachoes upon their upper lips, their chins continually kept bare by the razor, which makes them all to look like the pictures of our old Britons; or like thoſe our rude painters daub upon cloths and call them the nine worthies. And further, to make them the more formidable, they will appear on horſeback as if they were ſurrounded with an armory, or carrying a whole armory about them; thus appointed: At their left ſides ſwords hanging on belts, under them ſheaves of many arrows; on their left ſhoulders broad bucklers faſtened, and upon their backs ſmall guns like to carbines fixed likewiſe; at their right ſides bows hanging in caſes, and lances (about two yards and a half long) hanging in loops near their ſtirrops, (when they carry them not in their hands) yet for all this harneſs, the moſt of them are like thoſe Ephramites, Pſal. lxxviii. 9. "who being armed, and carrying bows, turned their heads in the day of battle." For they dare not look a man of courage in the face, though they be thus fortified, with ſuch variety of weapons for their defence. Nay a man of reſolution will

beat

beat one of theſe out of all his weapons, with a ſmall ſtick or cane. So that I ſhall do the natives of that country no wrong, if I ſay of them, that they are *Solâ libidine fortes*, moſt ſtrong and valiant in their baſe luſts, and not otherwiſe.

The baſe cowardiſe of which people, hath made the great Mogul ſometimes to uſe this proverb, that one Portugueſe would beat three of his people; and (becauſe the Engliſh there have many times prevailed much at ſea againſt thoſe Portugueſe) he would further add, that one Engliſhman would beat three Portugueſe.

The truth is, that the Portugueſe, eſpecially thoſe which are born in thoſe Indian colonies, moſt of them a mix'd ſeed begotten upon thoſe natives, are a very low poor ſpirited people, called therefore *Galinas dell Mar*, the hens of the ſea.

One notable inſtance to prove this; it happened that the Eaſt-India company had a very little pinnace, they called the Coaſter, which they kept in thoſe parts for diſcoveries; ſhe was mann'd but with ten men, and had only one ſmall murdering-piece within her. She upon a time met with a Portugueſe ſhip, going then towards Ormus, which had one hundred and thirty men aboard her, and guns anſwerable to her burden, and company: Our petty pinnace came up with her, diſcharged her murdering-piece, which ſlew one of her chief officers; upon which, without any further

ther reſiſtance, ſhe preſently ſtruck her ſails and yielded. Our Engliſh preſently commanded her gunners, and ſome other of her chief officers, to come aboard them, which immediately they did, and there kept them bound, 'till they had taken what they pleaſed out of their ſhip, and then let them go; being moſt deſervedly uſed in that their ſuffering, they being thirteen to one, and yet ſuch beaſts they were, as that they durſt not make any reſiſtance.

But take ſome ſtories of valiant Portugueſe before I leave them, and theſe you ſhall have from ſome of that nation themſelves, whom we not ſeldom met in India, and would there beg relief of us; but I never knew any come to us upon thoſe terms, but his pride would excuſe his poverty thus; that he was challenged into the field, and there in ſingle combat had fairly ſlain a man; how that he durſt not return again any more into the Portugueſe colonies, for fear of the law, and it was that which put him at preſent into that ſad exigent to aſk relief; and this was their uſual plea there, when in truth and indeed we did believe them to be ſuch pitiful wretches, or men of ſuch a ſtrange reſolution as that (as it was written of one called Piſander) they would be made to fear their own ſhadows.

However, upon this account there came upon a time, at my firſt coming into India, unto the factory at Surat, where I then was, a moſt valiant

valiant Portugueſe, (if you will give him leave to tell his own ſtory, and believe it when he hath done) who firſt for his perſon was *aquantus, tantus, tantillus*, a very poor, little dwarfiſh man, whoſe perſon promiſed as little valour as any that I ever ſaw, though I know that high courage is not ty'd to a huge bulk, for (if ſtories abuſe us not) Alexander the great was but a little man; but whatever Alexander was, I am ſure that this was a poor little thing, but however he told us that he was by birth an Hidalgo, which ſignifies in Spaniſh the ſon of ſomebody, or no ordinary man, but a gentleman of Spain, and that he came from thence as a companion to the King of Spain's Viceroy, ſent to Goa, and himſelf was called the Knight with the Golden Rapier; and that ſuddenly after his coming to Goa he was honourably invited into the field, there to fight at ſingle combat, with a very gallant man of that place, but he ſoon left him there dead; and having done ſo, the Viceroy preſented him with a pardon for that fact before he aſked it; but willing him withall, now he had been ſufficiently try'd, to confine his rapier to its ſcabbard. But he told us further, that he could not long after live quietly there, but was provoked again by a man of high reſolution, unto a ſecond encounter, when he had the like ſucceſs as before, in killing his adverſary. The Viceroy now was very angry with him, but upon much intreaty, as he ſaid,

pardoned

pardoned him a ſecond time; upon the receipt of which favour, he told us that he was then reſolved to throw away his rapier, to get into a religious houſe, and there to remain the reſidue of his days a *Convertado*, or Penitent; but the Viceroy could not be long without his company, and therefore to gain it reſtored him again into his former favour: But for himſelf he was ſtill ſo unhappy, (the fame of his great valour being ſpread abroad) as that he could not long enjoy that peace and quiet which he now ſo much deſired, but received a third challenge from a very gallant and very valiant man, as he deſcrib'd him, a man big enough to beat a Goliah; and then he further told us, that his honour was ever more dear unto him than his life, and therefore notwithſtanding the loſs of the Viceroy's favour, and what elſe might happen, he entered the liſts with him, and though he found him the ſtouteſt adverſary that ever he oppoſed, yet after a long conflict this little Knight killed that great Giant, and left him there dead likewiſe; which done, he (not daring to return any more unto Goa) told us, that he came naked out of the field as we then ſaw him, with no ornaments (I aſſure you) about him, fit to make him a Viceroy's companion, nor any weapon fit to dub him Knight of the Golden Rapier. He further added that he was now reſolved not to live any longer amongſt the Chriſtians, but that he deſired to live amongſt the Engliſh; but when

we

we replied that we were Chriſtians, he cried, *Jeſu Maria!* as wondering at it, and further told us, that he never heard ſo before.

When this Rhodomantadiſt had ended his perilous ſtory, it was dinner time, and the merchants bid him to ſit down with us and eat, and ſo he did; where certainly he laid about him more valiantly than ever he had done before in the field, giving our meat many a cut, and eating as if he had been more than half ſtarved. He continued with us there for ſome few days, and after, when his hunger was well ſatisfied, and his ſpirits well refreſhed, he began to take ſome exception againſt his place at the table, becauſe he eat at the lower end thereof, ſaying, that the company there were but factors ſervants, but he was a gentleman, and therefore his due place was higher at the board; but then corrected himſelf, ſaying, that it was not to be much conſidered where he ſat, for his place made the upper end of the table, wherever it was placed; and ſuddenly after, this Don Quixote being weary of his ſtay with us, (though he was but too well uſed) and having a great mind to ramble farther, told our company, that he being an Hidalgo, it was very diſhonourable for him to take entertainment upon the terms he had it, and therefore deſired us to make a little purſe for him, on which he would live as long as he could, and then creep into ſome deſart place, and there repent and die. And now our great gueſt having

king ſpent all his humour, and told us all his dream, had his deſire granted in ſome money that was given to him, and ſo we parted with our Knight-Errant, who lived longer than he told us he would live, for half a year after I took notice of him at the Mogul's court, and there I leave him.

I will now relate a ſtory of another of this nation, (and I do believe as good a gentleman as himſelf) who called himſelf Antonio de la Valla. It happened that a little before our coming thence, my Lord Ambaſſador going from his own houſe to dine at the Engliſh factory in Surat, and I waiting on him, there appeared then to us a walking ſkeleton, moſt miſerably cloathed, the pooreſt and leaneſt creature that ever mine eyes beheld, who faintly begged of him ſome relief, telling (what was true) that he was almoſt quite ſtarv'd; the Ambaſſador pitied and relieved him, and as we returned back found this poor creature eating with ſo much greedineſs, as if he could not have been ſatisfied. He was then willed to come to our houſe, and he did ſo, and there was fed and heartened up again, and then when he was come to himſelf, told us, that he had endured there abundance of miſery, which, as he acknowledged, did moſt juſtly befall him, becauſe he had there renounced his religion, and become a Mahometan, which when he had done, no care was taken of him there, (for they regard not a man that will not be

conſtant

conſtant in his religion, believing that if that bond cannot tye him, nothing will.) He told us further, that he was very ſorry for what he had done, and deſired a paſſage for England, which was granted him; and he was put unto me as my ſervant, and therefore I fitted him with cloaths, &c. fit for his return; but afterward (we being at ſea) he would often curſe and ban, and cry out, *O mal ventura!* O his hard hap! and that of all the miſeries which he had endured, this was the greateſt, that he an Hidalgo, a gentleman of Spain, ſhould live to become a ſervant, and which was worſe, to ſerve a Heretick. I would, when I heard of this of him (for he ſpake not ſo to me), tell him of it, and further mind him of that moſt ſad condition in which we found him, how that he had ſtarv'd to death, if our pity, in the relief he found from us, had not even then prevented it. He would reply, that he know not what he ſaid; telling me that his many miſeries had turned his brains. Not to beſtow any more ink and paper on him, we brought him afterward to Plymouth; and immediately after our arrival there, he deſired his liberty, which was very eaſily granted him; and from thence (having ſome money given him more than he deſerved) took his courſe whither I cannot tell, neither will my reader deſire to know. And therefore I will return again, as ſwift as meditation or thought can carry me, unto Eaſt-India, where I ſhall in the next place ſpeak,

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

Of our ſafe and ſecure living amongst the Natives there, if we do not provoke them. Of their Faithfulneſs unto thoſe that entertain them as Servants; for how little they ſerve, and yet how diligent they are, &c.

WHERE firſt for our living in Eaſt-India, it is with as much freedom and ſafety in our journies, and tents, when we travel, in our houſes when we are fix'd, as if we were in an army of banners appointed for our guard; or as if the vines and fig-trees under which we there ſit were our own.

But there are ſpoilers ſometimes met withal, in thoſe provinces, that live by their ſwords and bows, having nothing for their ſubſiſtence (becauſe they will take no other courſe) but what they get by rapine and ſpoil; of whom ſomewhat more afterward.

And now by the way for thoſe villains who thus live, wherever they be, and thoſe ſturdy rogues who are next to them in guilt, by eating up the bread of the poor, having able limbs to carry them, that they may beg from houſe to houſe, and hands to receive alms, but none to labour; both theſe being the very vermin of the commonwealths wherein they are ſuffered to breath, it were very well if ſuch of theſe as have not deſerved to be cut off

by

by the hand of justice, were all served as Philip King of Macedon dealt with two rogues, *alterum è Macedonio fugere, alterum persequi jussit*; he made one of them to whip the other out of his country, and so he was rid of both of them.

But to return unto the place from whence I am now digressed. I travelled from Surat with four Englishmen more, and about twenty of the natives in our company, we beginning our journey the fifth of January towards Sir Thomas Row, at the Mogul's court, then above four hundred miles distant from Surat. We had six waggons drawn with oxen, in our company, fadeit with rich English goods (the principal part whereof was English broad cloth) assign'd to an English merchant at the court, and some other carriages we had, of all which we made a ring every night near to some large town or village, where we resolved to stay, and pitched our tents within that circle, some of us watching, and the natives with us, every night. We went on that long journey very safely; only in some places, where there was any suspicion of danger, we had a guard of horse appointed to go with us for our defence, by the command of Sultan Caroon, then Prince, and now King, (who had his revenue out of those parts we then travelled through) who sent a footman, that continually kept us company, with his letters to command a company of soldiers, that were horse-

men, to guard us where we thought good, who as they did not expect, ſo they would take no recompence for their pains, though we freely offered it them. But the providence of God did ſo order it, that though we had their company in ſeveral places, we never had need of their help for our defence. The truth is, that the people there in general are very civil, and we never had any affronts or ill uſage from them, if we did not firſt provoke them.

But if we did, they would not well bear it, for twice in one week, at my firſt coming to Surat, the whole town in general were in an uproar, and ſurrounded our houſe there; both times ſome of our Engliſh provoked thoſe natives to ſtir againſt us, but by our ſpeedy addreſſes unto the governor of that place, we excuſing the fault of thoſe that miniſtred the occaſion of their diſcontent, they being newly come thither, and altogether unacquainted with their cuſtoms, he preſently commanded that wild aſſembly to depart from our houſe, and ſo immediately they did, we receiving no hurt at all from any of them.

When my Lord Ambaſſador at firſt arrived at Surat, it ſo was, that an Engliſh cook he carried with him, the very firſt day of his coming thither, found a way to an Armenian Chriſtian's houſe, who ſold wine in that place, they call Armenian wine. But (by the way) I do believe there was ſcarce another in that populous city of that trade; the greater ſhame for thoſe

thoſe, whoſoever they be, that ſuffer ſo many unneceſſary tipling houſes, (in the places where they have power to reſtrain them) which are the Devil's nurſery, the very tents wherein Satan dwells, where almighty God receives abundance of diſhonour; drunkenneſs being a ſin which hath hands and fingers to draw all other ſins unto it; for a drunkard can do any thing, or be any thing but good. That Armenian wine I ſpeak of is made of raiſons of the ſun and ſugar, with ſome other things put and boiled in water; which wine, when it is ripe and clear, is in colour like to our Muſcadels, pleaſant enough to the taſte, but heavy and heady. The cook had his head quickly over-freighted with it, and then ſtaggering homeward, in his way met the governor's brother of Surat, as he was riding to his houſe; the cook made a ſtand, ſtaying himſelf up upon his ſword and ſcabbard, and cry'd out to the governor's brother, *Now thou heathen dog.* He not underſtanding his foul language, reply'd civilly in his own, *Ca-ca-ta,* which ſignifies what ſay'ſt thou? the cook anſwered him with his ſword and ſcabbard, with which he ſtruck at him, but was immediately ſeized on by his followers, and by them diſarmed and carried to priſon; the Ambaſſador had preſent intelligence of the miſbehaviour of his drunken ſervant, and immediately ſent word unto the governor's brother, that he was not come thither to patroniſe any diſorderly perſon, and

therefore desir'd him to do with him what he pleased; upon which he presently sent him home, not doing him the least hurt. But before I leave this story, it will not be amiss to enquire who was the *Heathen dog* at this time; whether the debauch'd drunken cook, who call'd himself a Christian, or that sober and temperate Mahometan who was thus affronted.

In our journey towards the court, (after we had been in our way about seven days from Surat) we rested at a place called Ditat, where many of the inhabitants offered to guard us and our goods, though we (observing there was no danger) desired it not, but they would do it, and in the morning expected and ask'd something of us by way of recompence. One of our company (who had been in East-India a year or two before) told them, that what they had done they did without our desire, and therefore they should have nothing from us, but some ill language, which he then gave them. We set forward in the morning, according to our wonted custom; they followed after us, to the number at the least of three hundred men, (for the place was great and populous) and when we were gone about a mile from that town, stopped our carriages; he of our company who told them they should have no recompence, was presently ready to shoot at them with his musket, which made them all to bend their bows at us; but I happily and suddenly stepping in, prevented his firing

firing at them, and they shooting at us; which if I had not by God's good providence done, but we had madly engaged such a great multitude, there could not have been less expected in the sad issue thereof, than the loss of all our lives, and goods; but having a little parly with them, for the value of three shillings of English money given amongst them, they were all quieted and contented, and immediately left us, wishing us a good journey.

After this, when we had gone forward about twenty days journey, (which daily removes were but short, by reason of our heavy carriages, and the heat of the weather) it happened that another of our company, a young gentleman about twenty years old, the brother of a baron of England, behaved himself so ill as that we feared it would have brought very much mischief on us.

This young man being very unruly at home, and so many others that have been well born, when their friends knew not what to do with them, have been sent to East-India, that so they might make their own graves in the sea, in their passage thither, or else have graves made for them on the Indian shore, when they come there: A very cleanly conveyance (but how just and honest I leave to others) for parents to be rid of their unruly children; but I never knew any who were thus supposed to be sent thither, but they outlived that voyage.

For the young gentleman I speak of, his employment was to wait upon our chief com-

mander in his cabin, who very courteouſly when he came to ſea turn'd him before the maſt amongſt the common ſailors, (a great preferment for a man of his birth) but for all this, he outliv'd that harſh uſuage, and came ſafely to Eaſt-India; and my Lord Ambaſſador hearing of him, and being well acquainted with his great kindred, ſent for him up to the court, and there entertain'd him as a companion for a year, then giving him all fit accommodations, ſent him home again as a paſſenger for England, where after he ſafely arrived.

But in our way towards that court, it thus happened, that this hot-brains being a little behind us, commanded him then near him, who was the prince's ſervant, before ſpoken of, to hold his horſe; the man reply'd, that he was none of his ſervant, and would not do it. Upon which this moſt intemperate mad youth, who was like Philocles that angry poet, and therefore called *bilis & ſalſigo*, choler and brine, for he was the moſt haſty and cholerick young man that ever I knew, as will appear by his preſent carriage, which was thus; firſt he beat that ſtranger, for refuſing to hold his horſe, with his horſe-whip, which I muſt tell you that people cannot endure, as if thoſe whips ſtung worſe than ſcorpions; for of any puniſhments that carry moſt diſgrace in them, as that people think, one is to be beaten with that whip wherewith they ſtrike their beaſts; the other to be beaten (and this

they eſteem the more diſgraceful puniſhment of the two) about the head with ſhoes. But this ſtranger (being whipt as before) came up and complained to me; but to make him amends, that frantick young man (mad with rage, and he knew not wherefore) preſently followed him, and being come up cloſe to him, diſcharged his piſtol laden with a brace of bullets directly at his body; which bullets, by the 'ſpecial guidance of the hand of God, ſo flew, that they did the poor man no great hurt; only one of them, firſt tearing his coat, bruiſed all the knuckles of his left hand, and the other broke his bow which he carried in the ſame hand. We preſently diſarmed our young bedlam, 'till he might return again to his wits. But our greateſt buſineſs was how to pacify the other man, whom he had thus injured: I preſently gave him a roopee, in our money two ſhillings and nine-pence; he thanked me for it, and would have taken it with his right hand, but I deſired him to take it with his maim'd one, and ſo he did, and could clinch it very well, which I was glad of. Then we did ſhew (as we had cauſe) all the diſlike we could againſt that deſperate act of him from whom he received his hurt, telling him that we were all ſtrangers, and for our parts had done him no wrong at all, and therefore hoped that we ſhould not be made any way to ſuffer for the faults of another; and we further told him, that if he would be quiet

'till we came up to the court, he ſhould have all the ſatisfaction he could deſire. He told us that we were good men, and had done him no wrong, and that he would 'till then reſt contented; but he did not ſo, for about two hours after we met with a great man of that country, having a mighty train with him, as all the grandees there have when they travel (of whom more hereafter.) He preſently went towards him, that to him he might make his complaint; and ſo he did, telling him that he was the prince's ſervant, why he came to us, and how he had been uſed by us, ſhewing him his hand and his other breaches. The great man replied, that it was not well done of us, but he had nothing to do with it, and ſo departed on his way. That night, after we came to a ſtrong large town, and placing ourſelves on the ſide of it, he did what he could (as we imagined) to raiſe up that people againſt us, ſome of them coming about us to view us, as we conceived; but putting on the beſt confidence we could, and ſtanding then upon our guard, and all of us watching that night, but in a 'ſpecial manner, by the good providence of God, who kept us in all our journey, we here felt none of that miſchief we feared, but early in the morning quietly departed without the leaſt moleſtation. After which, with a little money, and a great many good words, we ſo quieted this man, that we never after heard any more complaining from him. So that, as I be-

I before obſerved, we were not at any time in any dangers of ſuffering by that people, but ſome of our own nation were the procuring cauſes of it.

For the people there, they are generally very civil, and uſually keep themſelves ſo within the bounds of command received from their ſuperiors, over which they do not paſs, as that they are not apt to take fire, and to throw off their yoak, that they might do miſchief; they happily conſidering, that as in a natural, ſo in a body politick, there muſt be hands and feet, as well as heads and ſhoulders, all parts as well as any, the defect of the leaſt being ſo prejudicial to both thoſe bodies, that they know not how to want it; but for both, when they are fitted with all their integral parts, all members muſt do their ſeveral offices; the foot not medling with the buſineſs of the head, further than to receive commands from it. And therefore that precept of the Apoſtle, Epheſ. 6. 5. "Servants be obedient unto them that are your maſters, according to the fleſh, &c" though they never learned it from St. Paul, yet having found that leſſon clearly written even in the law of nature, with all carefulneſs they remember, and with all diligence they practiſe it, as well knowing the abſolute neceſſity of ſuperiority and inferiority amongſt men, that ſome muſt give, others muſt take command; for were it not for thoſe cords to lead ſome, and to hamper and reſtrain others,

there

there were no living for men amongſt men, but one would deſtroy another, as the beaſts of the field, the fowls of the air, and fiſhes of the ſea do; were it not for thoſe ligaments and ties, the very ſinews and nerves of every kingdom and commonwealth would crack aſunder, and all would ruin into confuſion.

I have often heard it obſerved of the Welſh, that they are *Optimi ſervi*, but *Peſſimi Domini*, ill maſters, but good ſervants. I ſhall not further enquire into the truth of that proverbial ſpeech; but, for this people, this I can affirm, that they are excellent ſervants, who are as much at the command of their maſters, as the people of Iſrael, after the death of Moſes, were unto Joſhua, Joſh. i. 17. there telling him, "all that thou commandeſt us we will do, or whitherſoever thou ſendeſt us we will go;" or, as the Centurion's ſervant in the goſpel were at the word of command to their Captain, Matth. viii. 9. who, "if he bad them go, they went, if come, they came, if do this or that, they did it:" So theſe, if they be commanded to carry letters of a ſudden many miles diſtant from one place to another, they yield obedience in this, as to all other the commands of their maſters, without regret or diſpute, not objecting againſt, but doing the wills of thoſe that employ them.

Before I obſerved, that for the generality of this people they have very low and timorous ſpirits, but there are ſome I named in my laſt

ſection,

ſection, who are ſtout daring men, as the Baloches, Patans, and Raſhbootes, who, as they have the honour above all the reſt of the people in thoſe large provinces to be accounted valiant; ſo, as occaſion is offered, they will ſhew themſelves ſo to be; and therefore they are much hired as convoys, to ſecure men's perſons and goods from place to place.

For thoſe provinces, they are not without mountains of prey, and tabernacles of robbers, as David and Job ſpeak, where deſperate men keep in ſome woods and deſerts, which are not far from great road ways, moſt frequented and uſed, and there, like the wild Arabs, in companies meet, and ſpoil and deſtroy poor paſſengers, when they expect them not; it being the curſed manner of thoſe ſpoilers, if they prevail againſt them whom they ſurprize, to kill them before they rifle them; and therefore the firſt thing heard from them is, *mor, mor, mor*, that is, kill, kill, kill, which they all ſpeak out as loud as they can. We were often told of them as we travelled ſometimes in the night, by reaſon of the extreme heat of the day, after we had taken leave of the King, and ſo were journeying towards Surat, that we ſhould meet with thoſe cruel villains; but through God's mercy we were never in danger of them but once, and that was about midnight, near a large city called Brodera; but we being a competent number of Engliſhmen together, about twenty, and all of us reſolved

reſolved to ſell our lives at as dear a rate as we could, and having twice ſo many Indian ſervants with us, which are very nimble with their bows and arrows, we with our piſtols and carbines, which we preſently diſcharged amongſt them, and our Indians plying them with their arrows, made them ſuddenly to retreat, we receiving little hurt from them, but after this we made no more night marches.

Thoſe Indians I named before, are ſo faithful to their truſts unto whomſoever they engage, to the Engliſh as well as any other, that if they be at any time aſſaulted, they will rather die in their defence, than forſake them in their need. So that I am very confident, that if an Engliſh merchant ſhould travel alone with a very great treaſure in gold and jewels, both or either, from Surat to Lahor, which is more than one thouſand Engliſh miles, and take thoſe Indian ſervants only for his company and guard, and they all knew what he carried with him, he paying them their wages, they would be ſo far from injuring him of the leaſt penny of his wealth, that whoſoever beſides ſhould attempt his ſpoiling muſt make a way through their blood before they ſhould be able to do it.

Here is a great and good example of faithfulneſs, and it is very true. But I much doubt, that if a great Indian merchant, a native of that country, ſhould come for England with the like treaſure, with a deſire to paſs through this whole nation, and ſhould for his more ſafe paſ-

ſage

ſage take a guard of ſword-men here, and pay them well for their ſervice, they might lie under ſuch a ſtrong temptation, as might make them to ſpoil the Egyptian, by ſhortening his journey, dividing his ſubſtance, and by diſpoſing ſo of his perſon, that it ſhould never tell tales.

But for that people, as their faithfulneſs is very remarkable, ſo is their diligence very exemplary likewiſe; for they keep continually within the call of their maſters, and will not at any time depart thence without ſpecial leave. And the plenty of all proviſions being very great throughout the whole mondrehy, they ſerve at very low rates, which I never knew them to raiſe, not requiring more than five ſhillings ſterling every new moon, paid the next day after its change, which is all the recompence they deſire or expect from their maſters, to provide themſelves with all neceſſaries.

——— *quibus hinc togæ, Calceus hinc eſt,*
Et panis, fumuſque Domi. Juv. Sat. 1.

Their coat, their ſhoes, their bread, their fire,
And all beſides, bought with this hire.

And for this they do as good ſervice as if they had ten times as much wages.

They ſtand to be hired in the Bazar, or market-place, an ancient cuſtom, as may appear Matth. xx. 3. where ſome of them may be at all times had.

But

But it is their manner, when they are hired to receive advance money, that is, one month's pay before hand, and to have their pay thus in hand every month ſo long as they ſerve, and ſo honeſt they are, that if they be bidden to provide themſelves of other maſters, they will ſerve out the time for which they have received pay, to an hour, before they depart.

Now theſe who are ſo exact in performing their duty, by their faithfulneſs and diligence, muſt be exactly paid their ſalary at the time they expect it, otherwiſe they will be ready to quit their ſervice, as one of them whom we thus hired left us as we were travelling up to the court, the reaſon, becauſe our money was almoſt quite gone, (though we were ſupplied again a day or two after) and we could not punctually pay him at his day, as we had formerly done. This fellow led one of our camels, and had been with us two months before, but upon this little failing him, would needs leave us; but before he departed, he made a ſpeech to his camel, telling him, that he had fed him thus long, and had during that time lived by him, but now our money (as he ſuppoſed) quite failing, he told him that he muſt be gone, deſiring God to bleſs him, and that he might have ſome other to lead him that might not be leſs careful of him than he had been. So he took leave of his camel, though not of us, and departed. All the reſt of the company were perſuaded to continue with us, and

and had their pay a day or two after; and ſo we proceeded on our journey, and ſo ſhall I further in this diſcourſe. And now I have ſpoken ſomething of the people, I ſhall ſpeak,

SECTION IX.

Of their Buildings in Villages, Towns, and Cities. How their Houſes are furniſhed. Of their Sarraes or Houſes for the Entertainment of Paſſengers. Of their Tanks, Wells, and of their Places of Pleaſure, &c.

I Obſerved before, the richneſs of their ſoil, and how theſe provinces are watered by many goodly rivers, fed with abundance of ſprings, and how their fields are cloathed with very much plenty of corn of divers kinds, ſold there at ſuch low rates, that every one may there eat bread without ſcarceneſs.

Now I come to take notice of their buildings; and here I muſt tell my reader, that this people are not much taken or infected with that plague of building (as the Italians call it) wiſhing the love of it as a curſe to poſſeſs the thoughts of them they moſt hate; and therefore, as the ſtones in India are not all precious, ſo the houſes there are not all palaces; the poor there cannot erect for their dwellings fair piles, and the grandees do not cover their heads under ſuch curious roofs, as many of the

the Europeans do; the reaſon, firſt, becauſe all the great men there live a great part of the year, (in which their months are more temperate, as from the middle of September to the midſt of April) in tents, pavilions, or moveable habitations, which, according to their fancies, they remove from place to place, changing their air as often as they pleaſe. And ſecondly, becauſe all the great men there have their penſions and whole ſubſiſtence from the King, which they hold upon very fickle and uncertain terms; for as they are ſettled upon and continued unto them by the King's favour, ſo are they forfeited and loſt by his frown. Of which more afterward.

Yet though they make not much uſe of them, they have in plenty excellent good materials for building, as timber, bricks, ſtone, and marble, of divers kinds and colours, of which I have ſeen ſome very good vaults and arches, well wrought, as in their moſques or churches, ſo in ſome of their high erected tombs, (of which more afterward) and ſo in ſome other places likewiſe.

For their buildings in cities and towns, there are ſome of them handſome, others fair, ſuch as are inhabited by merchants, and none of them very deſpicable.

They build their houſes low, not above two ſtories, and many of their tops flat and thick, which keep off the violence of the heat, and thoſe flat tops, ſupported with ſtrong timber,

and

and coated over with a plaſter, (like that we call plaſter of Paris) keep them dry in the times of the rains.

Thoſe broad terraſſes, or flat roofs, ſome of them lofty, are places where many people may ſtand (and ſo they often do) early in the morning, and in the evening late, like camelions, to draw and drink in freſh air; and they are made after this faſhion, for proſpect, as well as pleaſure.

After this manner (as it appears in the ſacred ſtory) the Jews were wont to build; for "David from the roof of his houſe (2 Sam. xi. 2.) eſpies an object, &c." ſuch a one, as if God had not been very merciful, was ſufficient to have undone him for ever; as they write of the baſilisk, that it kills by ſight.

By the way, let me here add, that David's eyes thus wandered to fetch home a temptation, immediately after he had riſen from the bed of idleneſs and eaſe; for while he was employed in buſineſs, he was innocent and ſafe. The induſtrious have not ſuch leiſure to ſin, as the idle have, who have neither leiſure, nor power to avoid it. Exerciſe, as it is wholſome for the body, even ſo for the ſoul. The remiſſion whereof breeds diſeaſes in both.

David from the roof of his houſe ſees Bathſheba, when probably ſhe ſaw not him; luſt is quick-ſighted. David had no ſooner ſeen that object, but his eyes preſently betray, and

recoil upon his heart, ſmiting it with ſinful deſires, which made him to covet her, and preſently to ſend for her that he might enjoy her.

That which David here did, (and afterwards grievouſly repents for ſo doing) ſhall one day be the woeful ſong of many a wretched ſoul, as the laſcivious man's ſong, the covetous man's ſong, the ſong of thieves, idolaters, gluttons, drunkards, as of others, I ſaw, I coveted, I took; for all theſe receive their death, by their eye.

There Bathſheba was waſhing herſelf from her uncleanneſs, and preſently after in an adulterous bed became more unclean than ever ſhe was before; never was Bathſheba more foul than when ſhe was newly waſhed, the worſt of nature being cleanlineſs to the beſt of ſin. But I proceed.

Thoſe houſes of two ſtories have many of them very large upper rooms, which have many double doors in the ſides of them, like thoſe in our balconies, to open and let in freſh air, which is likewiſe conveyed in unto them by many leſſer lights made in the walls of thoſe rooms, which are always free and open; the uſe of glaſs windows, or any other ſhuttings, being not known there, nor in any other very hot countries.

Neither have they any chimnies in their buildings, becauſe they never make any uſe of fire but to dreſs their food, which fire they make againſt ſome firm wall, or without their tents

tents againſt ſome bank of earth, as remote as may be from the places where they uſe to keep, that they may receive no annoyance from the heat thereof.

It is their manner in many places to plant about and amongſt their buildings, trees which grow high and broad, the ſhadow whereof keeps their houſes by far more cool; this I obſerved in a ſpecial manner when we were ready to enter Amadavar; for it appeared to us as if we had been entering a wood, rather than a city. Amadavar is a very large and populous city, entered by many fair gates, girt about with a high and thick wall of brick, which mounts above the tops of their houſes, without which wall there are no ſuburbs. Moſt of the houſes within the city are of brick, and very many of them ridged and covered with tiles.

But for their houſes in their Aldeas, or villages, which ſtand very thick in that country, they are generally very poor and baſe. All thoſe country dwellings are ſet up cloſe together, for I never obſerved any houſe there to ſtand ſingly and alone. Some of their houſes in thoſe villages are made with earthen walls, mingled with ſtraw, ſet up immediately after their rains, and having a long ſeaſon after to dry them thoroughly, ſtand firm, and ſo continue; they are built low, and many of them flat; but for the generality of thoſe country villages, the cottages in them are miſerably

poor, little, and baſe; ſo that as they are built with a very little charge, ſet up with ſticks rather than timber, if they chance to fire, (as many times they do) for a very little they may be re-edified.

Thoſe who inhabit the country villages, are called Coolees; theſe till the ground, and breed up cattle, and other things for proviſion, as hens, &c. Theſe plant the ſugar, cotton, wool, indigo, &c. Their trades and manufactures are kept in cities and towns; about which are their choiceſt fruits planted; without their dwellings there, but fixed to them, are pent-houſes, where they ſhew and ſell their proviſions, as bread, and flour cakes made up with ſugar, fruits, and other things, and there they ſhew their manufactures, and other commodities, ſome of which they carry twice every day to ſell in the bazar or market.

I ſaw two houſes of the Mogul's, one at Mandoa, the other at Amadavar, which appeared large and ſtately, built of excellent ſtone, well ſquared and put together, each of them taking up a large compaſs of ground; but we could never ſee how they were contrived within, becauſe there are none admitted, ſtrangers or others, to have a ſight of thoſe houſes, while the King's wives and women are there, which muſt not be ſeen by any but by himſelf, and his ſervants the eunuchs.

The Mogul's palace royal is at Agra, his metropolis, (of which more afterward) but for the preſent, I ſhall take a little notice of

a very curious grot I ſaw belonging to his houſe at Mandoa, which ſtood a ſmall diſtance from it, for the building of which there was a way made into a firm rock, which ſhewed itſelf on the ſide of a hill, canopied over with part of that rock. It was a place that had much beauty in it, by reaſon of the curious workmanſhip beſtowed on it; and much pleaſure, by reaſon of its coolneſs.

That city Mandoa, I ſpeak of, is ſituated upon a very high mountain, the top whereof is flat, plain, and ſpacious. From all parts that lie about it, except one, the aſcent is very high, and ſteep; and the way to us ſeemed exceeding long, for we were two whole days climbing up the hill with our carriages, which we got up with very much difficulty; not far from the bottom of which hill, we lodged at a great town called Anchabar-pore, where we ferried over a broad river, (as we did in other places) for I obſerved no bridges made there over any of their rivers where their highways lie. That hill on which Mandoa ſtands, is ſtuck round (as it were) with fair trees, that keep their diſtance ſo, one from and below the other, that there is much delight in beholding them, either from the bottom or top of that hill.

In thoſe vaſt and far extended woods, there are lions, tigers, and other beaſts of prey, and many wild elephants. We lay one night in that wood with our carriages, and thoſe lions came about us, diſcovering themſelves by

their roaring, but we keeping a very good fire all night, they came not near enough to hurt either ourſelves or cattle; thoſe cruel beaſts are night-walkers, for in the day they appear not.

After (when through God's moſt gracious aſſiſtance) we had overcome thoſe difficulties, and dangers, we came into a plain and even country, in which travelling a few days more, we firſt met with my Lord Ambaſſador, marching towards Mandoa with that great King, with whom I then ſettled, and continued with him 'till he was returned home.

We were in our journey to the court from the beginning of January 'till the end of March, we reſting a while at Brampore, which is a very ſpacious and populous city, where we had a factory. And after that, we were violently detained in our journey by Sultan Caroon, the Prince, whom we met in his march towards Brampore, and a very marvellous great retinue with him. The reaſon why he interrupted us in our courſe was, that he might ſee the preſents we had for his father, the King; but we having command from the Ambaſſador to tell him, that we durſt not open them, 'till we came to the King, we moſt humbly craved his pardon to ſpare us in that; ſo preſenting him with a pair of rich gloves, (though they be things they wear not in thoſe hot countries) and a rich embroidered bag for perfume (which amongſt many other things of the like kind

were

were brought from England to be given away for preſents) after that he had carried us back three days journey, he let us go, taking further order for our ſafe convoy.

And now reader, thou may'ſt ſuppoſe us almoſt ſettled in Maudoa, the place then of the Mogul's reſidence, not much inhabited before we came thither, having more ruins by far about it, than ſtanding houſes. But amongſt the piles of building that had held up their heads above ruin, there were not a few unfrequented moſques, or Mahometan churches; yet I obſerved, that tho' the people who attended the King there, were marvellouſly ſtreightened for room, wherein they might diſpoſe of very great numbers of moſt excellent horſes, which were now at that place, they would not make ſtables of any of thoſe churches, though before that time they had been forſaken, and out of uſe.

One of thoſe deſerted moſques, with ſome large tomb near it, both vaulted over head, (which ſhall be after deſcribed) were the beſt places there to be gotten for my Lord Ambaſſador and his company to lodge and be in, we carrying our bedding, and all things appertaining thereto, all neceſſaries belonging to our kitchen, and every thing beſide for bodily uſe, from place to place, as we occaſionally removed. Here we ſtayed with the Mogul, from the middle of April, till the twentieth of September following, and then began our

progreſs with him towards the city of Amadavar.

Our abiding place at Mandoa was very near one of the ſides of that vaſt wilderneſs, out of which ſome of thoſe wild beaſts often times in the night came about our habitation, and ſeldom returned back without a ſheep, a goat, or a kid, ſome of which we always kept about us for our proviſion. And it was a wonderful great mercy thoſe furious, ravening, and hunger-bit creatures, did not make their prey ſometimes, in the dark and ſilent nights, while we were ſleeping, on ſome of our bodies, the fore part of our dwelling ſtanding upon pillars, and there was nothing in thoſe open diſtances that had any ſtrength in it to keep them from us.

One night, early in the evening, there was a great lion, which we ſaw, came into our yard, (though our yard was compaſſed about with a ſtone wall that was not low); and my Lord Ambaſſador having a little white neat ſhock, that ran out barking at him, the lion preſently ſnapt him up, leapt again over the wall, and away he went.

But for a ravening and a roaring lion, as I believe, he cannot be made tame when he is old; yet certainly he may be bred tame, being kept full, and high fed: For the Mogul, at my being there, had a very great lion I often ſaw, which went up and down amongſt the people who frequented his court gently as a dog,

dog, and never did hurt, only he had ſome keepers which did continually wait upon him.

For thoſe wild and cruel beaſts, one of our Engliſhmen watching in a tree by night, (that ſtood not far from our dwelling) with a fire-lock charged with ſome ſmall bullets, ſhot a tiger, and kill'd him ſtone dead, as he was coming towards us. It was a large beaſt, higher than an Iriſh grey-hound, with grizled hair, a long head, and ſharp and ſhort picked ears, having a mouth filled with cruel teeth; after which (we uſually keeping a little fire without our houſe every night) were not ſo much troubled with thoſe night-walkers.

Now to return to that from which I am occaſionally digreſſed. I told you before what their buildings are. And now for the furniture that the greateſt men have in them, it is *curta ſupellex*, very little, they being not beautified with hangings, nor with any thing beſides to line their walls; but where they are beſt adorned, they are kept very white, and ſet off with a little neat painting, and nothing elſe; for they have no chairs, ſtools, couches, tables, nor beds encloſed with canopies or curtains, in any of their rooms. And the truth is, that if they had them, the extreme heat there would forbid the uſe of many of them; all their bravery is upon their floors, all which are made even with fine earth, or plaſter, on which they ſpread their moſt excellent carpets in their tents, as well as in their

their dwelling-houſes, laying ſome coarſe thing under to preſerve them; on which they ſit as taylors on their ſhop-boards, when they meet together, putting off their ſhoes, (which they uſually wear as ſlippers, and their feet bare in them) when they come to tread on thoſe ſoft pavements, and keeping them off 'till they remove thence; this helps to keep cold their feet, and is very pleaſant in thoſe hot countries. On thoſe carpets they ſleep in the night time, or elſe upon a hard quilt, or lying upon a ſlight and low bedſtead they call a cot, bottomed with broad girt web, made of cotton wool. But wherever they lie, they ſtretch themſelves out at their full length when they go to ſleep, uſually upon their backs, without any pillow or bolſter, to raiſe up their heads. Very many of the meaner ſort of people (as I have often obſerved) lie thus ſtretched out to take their reſt upon the ground, in the dry ſeaſon of the year, with a white callico cloth ſpread all over them, which makes them appear like ſo many dead corpſe laid forth for burial. This lying ſo even, and at length, with their bodies thus extended, may be one reaſon why the people there are all ſo ſtrait limb'd, having none crooked amongſt them; and another, becauſe they never girt nor lace in their bodies, as was before obſerved. Some of thoſe ſlight bedſteads they call cots, in their ſtanding houſes hang

by

by ropes, a little above ground, which are faſten'd to the four corners thereof, moved gently up and down by their ſervants, to lull them aſleep.

They have no inns in thoſe parts for the entertainment of ſtrangers, but in ſome great towns large houſes they call Sarraes, very ſubſtantially built with brick or ſtone, where any paſſengers may find houſe-room, and uſe it without any recompence; but there is nothing to be had beſides room, all other things they muſt provide and bring with them, as when they lodge in tents.

Amongſt their buildings, I muſt take ſpecial notice of their wells and tanks, upon both which in very many places they beſtow exceeding much coſt in ſtone work. For their wells which are fed with ſprings, they make them round, but very wide and large. They are wrought up with firm ſtones, laid in fine plaſter; they uſually cover thoſe wells with a building over head, and with oxen draw water out of them, which riſeth up in many ſmall buckets, whereof ſome are always going down, others continually coming up, and emptying themſelves in troughs, or little rills, made to receive and convey the water whither they pleaſe.

Their tanks are made in low places, and many of them very deep and large, one mile, and ſome of them much more, in compaſs,

made

made round or four ſquare, or in more ſquares, about which there is a low ſtone wall, that hath many doors in it, and within that wall, ſteps, made one below the other, round about it, that go down to the bottom thereof, (which is paved likewiſe) thoſe ſteps are made of well ſquared laſting ſtone, laid firm and even in very good order, for people that have not plenty of water otherwiſe to go down and take it. Theſe great receptacles of water are made near places that are very populous, fill'd when that long ſeaſon of rain, before ſpoken of, comes, immediately before which time they cleanſe them, that the water may be more clear and wholſome. They hold water all the dry ſeaſon of the year.

For their places of pleaſure, they are in their groves, where their curious fruit trees (before deſcribed) grow, but eſpecially in their gardens, wherein they plant little vineyards, that afford marvellous fair and ſweet grapes, which they cut green, for their eating, or make raiſons of them. But for wine, they make none, becauſe their Mahomet forbids the drinking thereof. In thoſe gardens they have many pomegranate-trees, with all the choiceſt fruits and flowers their country affords; to which nature daily yields ſuch a ſupply, as that there is beauty to be ſeen in thoſe trees and plants, and that continually. In the middle of thoſe gardens, they have ſuch wells, as before deſcribed, the tops whereof

whereof ſtand a good deal higher than the planted ground, which lies even and flat below them, from whence water is conveyed in narrow open paſſages (they not knowing the uſe of leaden pipes) to all the parts of them, in the dry ſeaſon of the year. In thoſe gardens likewiſe they have little round tanks to bathe in, whoſe ſides and bottoms are made firm and ſmooth with that plaſter before named; they are fill'd by aquaducts from thoſe wells, and they can empty them when they pleaſe, as well as fill them. The water that is conveyed into thoſe ſmall tanks, uſually runs down broad ſtone tables, that have many hollows made in them, like to ſcollop-ſhells, which water in its paſſage makes ſuch a pretty murmur, as helps to tie their ſenſes with the bonds of ſleep, in the hot ſeaſons of the day, when they conſtantly keep their houſes, and then they lie down near them on their carpets, to be lull'd aſleep. Thoſe bathing places are within, or very near their garden houſes, which uſually are by far more neat, than any other of their dwelling.

In ſuch a garden houſe, with all thoſe accommodations about it, my Lord Ambaſſador lay with his company at Surat, the laſt three months before he left Eaſt-India.

And further, in thoſe hot ſeaſons of the day, the people of better quality lying or ſitting on their carpets or pallats, have ſervants ſtanding about them, who continually beat the

the air upon them with flabellas, or fans, of ſtiffened leather, which keep off the flies from annoying them, and cool them as they lie. Thus taking their eaſe, they call for barbers, who very gently gripe their arms and ſhoulders, and other parts they can in any meaſure graſp, and they ſtrike likewiſe very ſoftly thoſe parts with the ſides of their hands; it is very pleaſing as they do it, and cauſeth their blood to ſtir in their veins; it is therefore very much uſed in thoſe parts, to ſuch as do not heat their blood by bodily motion.

For their paſtimes within doors, they have cards, but much different from ours in the figures made in them, and in their greater number of ſuits. Thoſe cards I have often ſeen; and have been more often told that they have very good ſkill in that moſt innocent and ingenious game we call cheſs.

They delight themſelves ſometimes with the company of mountebanks and juglers; for their mountebanks, they keep venomous ſnakes in baſkets, and will ſuffer themſelves to be bitten or ſtung by them; which part thus bitten, or ſtung, preſently ſwells, and immediately after that they cure themſelves again by oils and powders, which they apply unto the place, and then offer to ſell them unto the people ſtanding by.

Their juglers are the cunningeſt that ever I ſaw, to do ſtrange things by ſlight of hand; as in this trick I ſhall here name, where I have ob-

obſerved them to lay down ſcuttles or broad open wicker baſkets upon the ground, three or four one upon another, all of which appeared empty, as they laid them down; but taking them up again, one after the other, in the bottom of them would appear three or four living turtle doves; which they would cover again with the ſame ſcuttles, and toſſing and turning them as they took them off, and up the ſecond time, none of thoſe pretty creatures were to be ſeen any more. But how they firſt conveyed them thither, and how after thence, we could not poſſibly diſcover.

For their paſtimes abroad, they have hawks of divers kinds, greater and leſs, and partridges and other choice fowl great ſtore to fly at. They have hares and antelopes, with other wild beaſts to hunt, and thoſe not a few. Their dogs for chaſe are made ſomewhat like our grey-hounds, but much leſs, who never open in the purſuit of the game. They hunt likewiſe with leopards, train'd up and made fit for their ſport, who by leaping ſeize on that they purſue; but by reaſon of the heat of the country, thoſe ſports are not there much uſed. The Mogul when he hunts carries hawks and dogs, and all things beſide with him, to make him paſtime, that if one ſport fail, he may be pleaſed with another.

They ſay, that they have a curious device to take wild fowls that uſe the water, into which

which a fellow goes with a fowl of that kind he deſires to catch, whoſe ſkin is ſtuffed ſo artificially, as that with a noiſe he counterfeits of that fowl, it appears to be alive; the man keeps all his body but head under water, on which he faſtens that counterfeit fowl to ſtand foreright on the top thereof; and thus coming amongſt them, he plucks them (as they ſay) by their legs under water at his pleaſure. But this I have only by tradition.

For other paſtimes abroad, this I am ſure of, that when the weather is more temperate, they ſhoot much in their bows, and are very excellent markſmen, ſomewhat like thoſe left-handed men ſpoken of Judg. xx. 16. And with their guns in which they ſhoot ſingle bullets, (for they have not the uſe of ſmall ſhot) they are ſomewhat long in taking their aim, but they will come very near the mark.

Others delight themſelves very much in managing their excellent horſes; but ſo ſhall I not delight my reader, if I dwell too long in particulars. And therefore having ſpoken of their buildings, I ſhall now invite him, though not to eat or taſte, yet to take notice,

SECTION

SECTION X.

Of their Diet, their Cookery in dreſſing it, &c.

AND though this country affords very much variety of excellent good proviſions, yet the Mahometans feed not freely on any fleſh: But on that which is ſtrange and forbidden of the Hindooes diet I ſhall ſpeak afterwards; but for the Mahometans, they are a people, as I conceive, not much given to their palate, but are very careful of, and temperate in their diet, as having learn'd by experience, that full bellies do more oppreſs than ſtrengthen the body; that too much of the creature doth not comfort, but deſtroy nature; it being a try'd truth, that gluttony reacheth, and kills thoſe whom the ſword cannot touch. All diſeaſes of the body, for the moſt part, being contracted to it by ſurfeits, in one kind or other, and therefore they keep themſelves to a thin diet, and eat not to pamper and pleaſe their appetite, but to ſatisfy and ſupport nature, which is contented with a little every where, but with leſs in hot countries, where mens digeſtion of food is not ſo quick and good; this being further a tried truth, that thoſe bodies are moſt ſtrong, active, and healthy, which are moſt temperate.

Therefore, although they have abundance of fleſh and fowl, and have fiſh too, yet are they temperate in all of them. For ſwine's fleſh, it is an abomination unto the Mahometans, and therefore they touch it not. And for other kind of fleſh, they eat very little of them alone, to make their full meals of them, for they dreſs no kind of fleſh in great pieces, or whole joints, nor ſcarce any of their fowls whole.

For boiling of fleſh in water, or baking or roaſting any fleſh, are pieces of cookery (if I obſerved well) they know not, but they ſtew all their fleſh, as their kid and other veniſon, &c. cut into ſippets, ſlices, or little parts, to which they put onions, herbs, roots, and ginger, (which they take there green out of the earth) and other ſpices, together with ſome butter, which ingredients when they are well proportioned, make a food that is exceedingly pleaſing to all palates, at their firſt taſting thereof moſt ſavoury meat; happily that very diſh which Jacob made for his father Iſaac, when he got the bleſſing, Gen. 27.

With their fleſh and herbs, &c. they ſometimes ſtew hens and other fowl cut in pieces, which is like that the Spaniards call an Olio, but more toothſome.

But their common ſtanding diſh there is rice, which they boil with more art than we; for they boil the grain ſo as that it is full, plump, and tender, but not broken in boiling; they

they put to it a little green ginger, pepper, and butter, and this is the ordinary way of their dreſſing it, and ſo 'tis very good.

Sometimes they boil pieces of fleſh, or hens, and other fowl, cut in pieces in their rice, which diſh they call pillaw; as they order it, they make it a very excellent, and a very well-taſted food.

Once my Lord Ambaſſador had an entertainment there by Aſaph Chan, who invited him to dinner (and this was the only reſpect in that kind he ever had, while he was in East-India.) That Aſaph Chan was a man made by his great alliances the greateſt ſubject and favourite in all that empire; for his ſiſter was the Mogul's moſt beloved wife, and his daughter was married unto Sultan Caroon the Prince, and very much beloved by him. But of all theſe, more afterward.

The Aſaph Chan entertained my Lord Ambaſſador in a very ſpacious and a very beautiful tent, where none of his followers beſides myſelf ſaw or taſted of that entertainment.

That tent was kept full of a very pleaſant perfume, in which ſcents the King and grandees there take very much delight. The floor of the tent was firſt covered all over with very rich and large carpets, which were covered again in the places where our dinner ſtood with other good carpets, made of ſtitcht leather, to preſerve them which were richer; and theſe were covered again with pure white

and fine callico cloths; and all theſe covered with very many diſhes of ſilver; but for the greater part of thoſe ſilver diſhes, they are not larger than our largeſt trencher-plates, the brims of all of them gilt.

We ſat in that large room as it were in a triangle; the Ambaſſador on Aſaph Chan's right hand, a good diſtance from him; and myſelf below; all of us on the ground, as they there all do when they eat, with our faces looking each to the other, and every one of us had his ſeveral meſs. The Ambaſſador had more diſhes by ten, and meſs by ten, than our entertainer had; yet for my part I had fifty diſhes. They were all ſet before us at once, and little paths left betwixt them, that our entertainer's ſervants (for only they waited) might come and reach them to us one after another, and ſo they did; ſo that I taſted of all ſet before me, and of moſt did but taſte, though all of them taſted very well.

Now of the proviſion itſelf; for our larger diſhes, they were filled with rice, dreſſed as before deſcribed; and this rice was preſented to us, ſome of it white, in its own proper colour, ſome of it made yellow with ſaffron, ſome of it was made green, and ſome of it put into a purple colour; but by what ingredient I know not; but this I am ſure, that it all taſted very well: And with rice thus ordered, ſeveral of our diſhes were furniſhed; and very many more of them with fleſh of ſeveral kinds, and

and with hens and other ſorts of fowl cut in pieces, as before I obſerved in their Indian cookery.

To theſe we had many jellies and culices; rice ground to flour, then boiled, and after ſweeten'd with ſugar-candy and roſe-water, to be eaten cold. The flour of rice, mingled with ſweet almonds, made as ſmall as they could, and with ſome of the moſt fleſhy parts of hens, ſtewed with it, and after, the fleſh ſo beaten into pieces, that it could not be diſcerned, all made ſweet with roſe-water and ſugar-candy, and ſcented with Ambergreaſe; this was another of our diſhes, and a moſt luſcious one, which the Portugueſe call *mangee real*, food for a King. Many other diſhes we had, made up in cakes, of ſeveral forms, of the fineſt of the wheat flour, mingled with almonds and ſugar-candy, whereof ſome were ſcented, and ſome not. To theſe potatoes excellently well dreſſed; and to them divers ſallads of the curious fruits of that country, ſome preſerved in ſugar, and others raw; and to theſe many roots candied, almonds blanched, raiſons of the ſun, prunellas, and I know not what, of all enough to make up the number of diſhes before named; and with theſe *quelque choſe* was that entertainment made up.

And it was better a great deal, than if it had conſiſted of full and heaped up diſhes, ſuch as are ſometimes amongſt us provided for great and profuſe entertainments. Our bread

was of very good excellent wheat, made up very white and light, in round cakes; and for our drink, ſome of it was brew'd, for ought I know, ever ſince Noah's flood, that good innocent water, being all the drink there commonly uſed, (as before) and in thoſe hot climates (it being better digeſted there than in other parts) it is very ſweet, and allays thirſt better than any other liquor can, and therefore better pleaſeth, and agreeth better with every man that comes and lives there, than any other drink.

At this entertainment we ſat long, and much longer than we could with eaſe croſs-legged; but all conſidered, our feaſt in that place was better than Apicius, that famous Epicure of Rome, with all his witty gluttony (for ſo Paterculus calls it, *ingenioſa gula*) could have made with all proviſions had from the earth, air, and ſea.

My Lord Ambaſſador obſerved not that uneaſy way of ſitting at his meat, but in his own houſe had tables and chairs, &c. he was ſerved altogether in plate, and had an Engliſh and an Indian cook to dreſs his diet, which was very plentiful and cheap likewiſe; ſo that by reaſon of the great variety of proviſions there, his weekly account for his houſe-keeping came but to little.

The meaner ſort of people there eat rice boiled with green ginger and a little pepper, after which they put butter into it, which is their

their principal diſh, and but ſeldom eaten by them; but their ordinary food is not made of the flour of wheat, but of a coarſe well taſted grain, made up in round broad and thick cakes, which they bake upon their thin iron plates, (before ſpoken of) which they carry with them when they travel from place to place; when they have bak'd thoſe cakes, they put a little butter on them, and doubtleſs the poor people find this a very hearty food, for they who live moſt upon it, are as ſtrong as they could be if they had their diet out of the King's kitchen. I ſhall here ſay no more of this, but proceed to ſpeak,

SECTION XI.

Of the Civilities of this People; of their Compliments, and of their Habits.

AND here the people in general (as before was obſerved) are as civil to ſtrangers as they are to their own countrymen; for they uſe when they meet one another, or when they meet ſtrangers, to bow their heads, or to lay their right hands on their breaſts, and to bow their bodies as they paſs, ſaluting them further with many well-wiſhes.

They uſe not to uncover their heads at all, as we do in our ſalutes, (from which cuſtom of ours, the Turks borrow this imprecation

for their enemies, wiſhing their ſouls no more reſt after death than a Chriſtian's hat hath, which is always ſtirred) but the meaner ſort, inſtead of uncovering their heads to their ſuperiors, uſe theſe abject ceremonies, by putting their right hand to the earth, and then laying it on their head; or by falling down on their knees, and then bowing their heads to the earth; both ſignifying, that thoſe unto whom they ſhew theſe reverences and reſpects, may tread or trample on them if they pleaſed.

When we viſit the people there of better quality, they entertain us with much humanity; firſt riſing up to us they bow their bodies, and then intreat us to ſit with them on their carpets, where they are free in their diſcourſe, which we uſually exchange with them by an interpreter. If we have any buſineſs with them, they return very civil and fair anſwers; and for our further entertainment give us beetle or paune to chew, before ſpoken of.

In their near and more cloſe and hearty ſalutes, they do not join hands as we, but do that which is hateful to the Spaniard, and not at all in uſe with us; for they take one another by the chin, or beard, and cry *bobba*, which is father, or *bii*, which is brother; and this appears to be a very ancient compliment, for thus Joab long ago ſaluted Amaſa, 2 Sam. xx. 9. but this they do in love, not as Joab did there, in treachery.

In their compliments they expreſs many good

good wiſhes to one another; as *Salam Allacum*, God give you health; the reply, *Allacum Salam*, the ſame health God give you. And *Greb-a-Nemoas*, I wiſh you the prayers of the poor. And *Tere-gree gree kee Bulla doore*, which made Engliſh ſpeaks thus, "I wiſh one good to come unto you after another every *Gra*" (which is a ſpace of time a little more than a quarter of an hour.) And they have many more compliments like theſe, handſome and ſignificant. As inferior people (who have their dependance on others) uſe to ſay unto them, "I eat your bread and ſalt;" as much as to ſay, I am your ſervant, I live by you, and you may do with me, or to me, what you pleaſe.

Now as this people of Eaſt-India are civil in their ſpeeches, ſo are they civilly clad, for there are none who wear their own ſkin alone for their covering, as very many in the weſtern India do.

For the habits of this people, from the higheſt to the loweſt, they are all made of the ſame faſhion, which they never alter nor change; their coats ſitting cloſe to their bodies unto their waſtes, then hanging down looſe a little below their knees, the lower part of them ſitting ſomewhat full; thoſe cloſe coats are faſtened unto both their ſhoulders, with ſlips made of the ſame cloth, which for the generality are all made of coarſer or finer white callico; and in like manner are they faſtened

faſtened to their waiſt, on both ſides thereof, which coats coming double over their breaſts, are faſtened by like ſlips of cloth, that are put thick from their left arm-holes to their middle. The ſleeves of thoſe coats are made long, and ſomewhat cloſe to their arms, that they may ruffle, eſpecially from their elbows to their wriſts. Under this coat they uſually wear another ſlight one, made of the ſame cloth, but ſhorter than the other, and this is all they commonly wear upon the upper part of their bodies. But ſome of the greater ſort, in the cooler ſeaſons of the day there, will ſlip on looſe coats over the other, made either of quilted ſilk or callico, or of our Engliſh ſcarlet broad cloth, for that is the colour they moſt love. Under their coats they have long breeches, like unto Iriſh trowſers, made uſually of the ſame cloth, which come to their ankles, and ruffle on the ſmall of their legs. For their feet, they keep them (as was before obſerved) always bare in their ſhoes.

Some of their grandees make their coats and breeches of ſtriped taffata of ſeveral colours, or of ſome other ſilk ſtuff of the ſame colour, or of ſlight cloth of ſilver or gold, all made in that country. But pure white and fine callico lawn (which they there make likewiſe) is for the moſt part the height of all their bravery; the collars and ſome parts of their upper coats being ſet off with ſome neat ſtitching.

Upon

Upon their heads they wear a long wreath of cloth, about half a yard broad, uſually white, but ſometimes of other colours. Which cloth worn for their head covering, is ſometimes interwoven in ſpaces with threads of coloured ſilk, or ſilver, or gold; and when not ſo, one end of the wreath of cloth worn by gallants is uſually thus interwoven, and ſo put upon their heads, that its gayneſs may appear. This head-covering of theirs they call a ſhaſh, which incircles their heads many times, and doth marvellouſly defend them from the violence of the ſun. And becauſe this covering muſt needs keep their heads hot, they provide for this as well as they can, by ſhaving the hair continually from off them. And they have girdles made of the ſame wreaths of cloth for the better ſort, thus interwoven, which come twice at leaſt about them, made very trim with that kind of weaving, eſpecially on both ends, which hang down direct before them.

And thus have I preſented a Mahometan there in his proper dreſs; whoſe habit will more viſibly appear together in the Mogul's picture, pourtray'd and after put into this diſcourſe.

Now for the Mahometan women. Becauſe I had never ſight of thoſe of the greateſt quality, I cannot give ſuch an account of them in reſpect of their habits; for theſe, unleſs they be diſhoneſt, or poor, come not abroad;

but

but for the faſhion of their garments, they do not differ much from thoſe the men wear, for they wear coats and breeches one very like the other, only women bind their long hair with fillets, which hang down behind them. They wear likewiſe upon their heads mantles or veils, (uſually made of white callico, or of their pintadoes) which hang down over their other garments. Further, the women have their ears bored, not only in their flaps, but round about them, wherein they wear very large pendants; thoſe of the richer ſort are made of flat, narrow, and thin pieces of gold or ſilver; thoſe worn by the poorer ſort, made of braſs, or iron kept bright; ſo that all are in the ſame faſhion; they beſtow ſome work upon the edges and ends of thoſe pendants. And thoſe women have the lower part of their left noſtrils pierced, wherein they wear a ring (when they pleaſe) of gold or ſilver, or of ſome other baſer metals. Thoſe rings of gold have little pearls faſtened to one end, and that pearl is drill'd through, that both ends of the ring may meet in it. And doubtleſs, the women of the greateſt quality (though I ſaw it not) are bedeck'd with many rich jewels. This I have obſerved in ſome of thoſe of the better ſort I there ſaw, that they did wear great broad hollow rings of gold enamell'd; and ſome made of ſilver or braſs, upon their wriſts, and upon the ſmall of their legs, to take off and on; two or three of them upon

upon each arm and leg, which make a tinkling noiſe; very probably ſuch ornaments as the Jewiſh women were threatened for, Iſa. iii. where Almighty God tells them, "that he would take away their tinkling ornaments about their feet, the bracelets, and the ornaments of their legs, their rings, and noſe-jewels."

For my Lord Ambaſſador, and his company, we all kept to our Engliſh habits, made as light and cool as poſſibly we could have them. His waiters in red taffata cloaks, guarded with green taffata, which they always wore when they went abroad with him, myſelf in a long black caſſock; and the colours and faſhion of our garments were ſo different from theirs, that we needed not, whereſoever we were, to invite ſpectators to take notice of us.

And now, the conſtancy there obſerved by the natives of both ſexes, in keeping to their old faſhions in their habits, exampled to them by their predeceſſors in many foregoing generations, and by them ſtill continued, is the great praiſe of this people, as the commendation of every nation in the world almoſt, beſides ours, ſtill conſtant to their ancient faſhions in their apparel.

The conſideration of this might ſhame and make us to bluſh at it (if we were people whom ſhame in this caſe could take); ſhame I ſay, and condemn too, the lightneſs and wantonneſs, the want of ſober-mindedneſs, and inconſtancy

conſtancy of our people here in this caſe, who moſt juſtly deſerve, even for this very thing, to be made bare and naked, becauſe they are never long pleaſed, ſcarce at all contented with the faſhion of that they wear for their covering, continually varying and multiplying their vanities, expreſſed by their habits. So that what the prophet Hoſea 5. 5. ſpeaks of Iſrael, may be apply'd to England, "that the pride thereof doth teſtify to its face."

It is an obſervation in heraldry, that the richer the coat is, the fewer are the colours in it. But whatſoever many gallants of theſe times bear in their ſcutcheons, I am ſure they want no colours in their cloathing, as if they were created Knights of the Sun, and engaged to wear about them every colour in the rainbow.

Unto what a ſhameful and unjuſtifiable length is the hair of very many grown to, fitter to be meaſured by a carpenter's rule, than by a comb, when mens hair hangs about their ſhoulders like manes on the necks of horſes. A wild and ſtrange faſhion never taken up 'till theſe very late times, (almoſt in the memory of children) which puts ſuch ſtrange diſguiſes upon many, that when it firſt took its riſe here in this nation, if then a man had met a few of them (who now thus bury and loſe their heads in their hair) he would then have conceived that he had met with furies, rather than men. Since which time that evil cuſtom

hath

hath ſo prevailed amongſt us, as if the commonneſs thereof was a ſufficient excuſe for its indecency.

And (by the way) I ſhould be exceeding glad, if I could exempt and wholy ſeparate from their company, all thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is to be the teachers and inſtructors of others, yet in this particular deſerve that blame which gives very much offence unto many of thoſe who are ſober minded. "Thou which teacheſt another, teacheſt thou not thyſelf?" ſaith the Apoſtle, Rom. ii. 21. the very coals of which ſcripture burn out againſt them who do not labour to live up unto every rule they preſcribe to others; who dare, without bluſhing, to do that themſelves, which they are bound to reprove in others.

If theſe would but conſider, how much gravity there is required in a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and look but a little with other mens eyes, they would preſently ſee a long hair (I had almoſt ſaid a ſhagpole) to become a pulpit ſo ill, that they would never preſume to aſcend that place again in that ſhameful diſguiſe.

I might hereunto add the many trickings and trimmings of ſome likewiſe which appear in that place, very much unbecoming the gravity of their profeſſion; in which reſpect the decency and comelineſs which hath appeared in others, in thoſe particulars I named, may be a ſtrong witneſs againſt them; in others, who have

have been thought fit to be removed from their places, and to be thereby laid aside; in others, who have made room for those, either by their death, or otherwise. Now those great indecencies (as I apprehend them) are faults, whatsoever is said in their justification, which, as former times could not parallel them, so the times present cannot excuse them.

But for others whom before I named, rather than they will not come up unto this height of vanity, they make the hair of women, which before was dead, to live again, as it were, upon their heads; concerning whom, if you put that question in the Prophet Jerem. xviii. 13. "and ask among the Heathen, who hath heard or done such things?" It will be answered, none there, none of them; yet this unnatural sin makes many amongst us even to pride themselves in this their shame; "for doth not nature itself teach, that if a man wear long hair, it is a shame unto him." 1 Cor. xi. 14.

And for the other sex amongst us, they are so carried on by the foot of pride, as they come never a whit behind; of whom there are too many, when God hath bestowed on them a very large portion of outward feature and beauty, more than upon many others, it is very strange that those, not yet content with his most excellent workmanship, should go about to amend it, as they think, by spending many precious hours to varnish a little rottenness, spotting and painting themselves, as if

beauty

beauty could be increaſed by deformities; thus preſenting themſelves to the view of others, as if they had received many ſcars and wounds, &c. ſo they have by the rod of pride (to take thoſe words in a borrowed ſenſe) which they cover with their black patches.

For outward beauty, without doubt it is an excellent gift of God, and ſo to be eſteemed; but when the ſoul anſwers not the face, in not being beautiful like it, it leads to a curſe; and experience teacheth us, that many of the fouleſt ſouls in this reſpect dwell faireſt. There are no two things help to people Hell more, than wanton wits and beautiful faces; that beauty therefore is worſe than any deformity, when it abuſeth the ſoul; when the ſoul is made worſe by it, in making the party on whom it is beſtowed either proud or filthy.

In the one and thirtieth of the Proverbs, 14. a woman is compared to a merchant's ſhip, which as it is there ſpoken of a good woman, ſo it may be apply'd to a bad one likewiſe; that ſhe is like a ſhip, always ready for trade, and therefore ſets off herſelf as much as poſſibly ſhe can with all variety of rigging. And further, concerning both ſexes in this caſe, I ſhall borrow ſomething from another to ſpeak of them, which I long ſince obſerved in theſe following verſes, but a little varied.

Our women here in gauds excel,
And in their looſe attires do ſwell

More light than sails when fresh gales play;
Yet are our men more loose than they,
More kemb'd & powder'd, rubb'd & trimm'd,
More bath'd and sleek'd, and slacker limb'd;
Grown so effeminate in their mind,
As if resolv'd to lose their kind.
Both swell in plenty, wealth and ease,
And health abus'd made their disease.

Now much of all this proceeds from fashions, one fashion bringing in another, and the fashion must bear out and excuse all: This fashion (as it should seem) is the best preacher and orator in our nation; It were well if our preachings, exhortations, and reproofs, were in fashion too, for then I am sure they would gain a great party, win a great many both men and women unto them, that now of all things cannot abide them; for they leave these, and still fashion themselves after the world, in every garish device, disguise, and dress; or rather after the Devil himself, for they are *Satanæ ingenia*, (as Tertullian calls them) inventions of the Devil, and not of men. And both may justly fear, that when Almighty God shall come to judge the quick and dead, he may not own these, who have so deformed that simple fashion, in which he first created them, but may say, as Cyprian observes, *Opus hoc meum non est, hæc mea non est imago*, this is not my workmanship, nor this the similitude I first made. When God shall say otherwise of their garments than Jacob sometimes did

of

of Joſeph's, Gen. xxxvii. 33. *Hæc non eſt tunica filii mei*, this is not my ſon's coat. When their own cloaths (to take that of Job in a literal ſenſe) Job. ix. 33. "ſhall make them to be abhorred."

Little do theſe conſider, that Almighty God can give them a rent, inſtead of a garment, and can cover them with leproſy, inſtead of cloathing; that when he pleaſeth he can put a vizard upon their faces, and can ſtrike as well the daughters of England, as thoſe of Sion, with a ſcab, Eſ. iii. 17. and cover them with blackneſs and deformity, inſtead of beauty.

Pardon (good reader) my length and language in this digreſſion, for I am not bitter, but charitable; *Inſectar vitia, non homines*; they are the vices and vanities of people, not their perſons, I reprove.

——— ——— *Librum*
Si malus nequeo Laudare. ——— Juv.

I cannot like to praiſe idle pamphlets, nor yet honour and eſteem vain perſons, whatſoever their outſides be. It is a mark, amongſt others, of a good man, that he is one "in whoſe eyes a vile perſon is contemned, Pſal. xv. 4. in whoſe eyes, or before whom, and in whoſe judgment, a vile perſon, (whatſoever he may otherwiſe be) who makes himſelf vile by his irregular courſe and carriage, is contemned, or little or nothing ſet by, or regarded.

They were wont to cry out againſt the court, for bringing forth and nurſing up many ſtrange and new faſhions. Now in reſpect of this, the whole nation is an enlarged diſſipated court; and the great city in it, as it ſhares very much in this national ſin, ſo it muſt bear a very great part of blame for this; and if, even for this very thing, it eſcape a ſignal judgment, it will fare much better than it deſerves.

When Auguſtus the Emperor ſometimes rode in triumph through Rome, and then obſerved the ſtate and bravery of that city, he ſaid, *ſe non viaſſe Reges, quot Cives*, that he beheld as many kings as citizens: The like may be ſaid of our great city London, wherein a very great number appear, by reaſon of their ſtrange exceſs in apparel, princes and princeſſes, rather than citizens.

Which varied and multiply'd pride in cloathing there, took a very great riſe in that greateſt viſitation by the plague of peſtilence that ever that city felt, in the year 1625, when very many of that populous city left their houſes and ſhops, and went into the country, putting themſelves and wives into the dreſſes then in faſhion, (a thing that was never done by them before) which were worn by the gentlemen and gentlewomen of the beſt rank, and they have ever ſince kept in, if not exceeded them in their habits. This was making a very ſad uſe of ſo extraordinary a judgment.

And

And ever ſince, he that ſtrictly views that place, may obſerve a great conteſt 'twixt pride and luxury for the upper end of the table. Before which time, none but the principal ſort of women there were cloathed in ſilks; now very many even ordinary ſervants are thus clad. That city then began to lead the way into this bravery; ſince (evil examples being eaſily imitated) all the populous places in this nation follow them. So that we may take up a general lamentation againſt the pride of this whole nation, but of that city in a more ſpecial manner, wherein ſo many thouſands are like the Cinamon-tree, whoſe bark is much better than its body. How may we complain againſt the garniſh, glittering dreſſes of very-very many even of the inferior rank of people throughout this whole land, when ſack-cloth and aſhes would become them much better.

I cannot deny, but that things which are rich, and of the greateſt value that are made, may be worn; yet doubtleſs this is a truth too, that all who can find money to pay for them, are not fit to wear them: For (as it is well diſtinguiſhed) there is, *neceſſitas Naturæ & perſonæ*. The bodies of all require covering, to defend them from cold, and mean cloth may warm as well as a rich pluſh: Yet ſuch as are of high birth and place, are fit to wear rich garments, which will not become others; the conſideration of their perſons gives them liberty herein, which it doth not to other peo-

ple, who would find much more comfort in frieſe, cloth, or ſtuff, than in velvet, or in any other rich thing infected by the pride or faſhion of thoſe that wear them, whoſoever they be.

But here I might borrow the words of the Prophet, and cry, "how is our ſilver become droſs!" here take up further complaint, when I do conſider how much pride and vanity (like worms) breed in greatneſs, more by far (as I conceive) in the preſent, than in thoſe foregoing ages, when ſo many amongſt us of great birth have tainted and corrupted their blood, and quite ruin'd their manners, by ſtrange exorbitancies, which have forfeited that honour and reſpect they might otherwiſe challenge, and be ſure to receive, from all people of ſober minds.

When the rude ſoldiers ſaw the ſenators of Rome ſit gravely, and demeaning themſelves as became their places, they held them to be Gods; but as ſoon as they diſcovered the failings and paſſions of men, they preſently took them to be men, and deſpiſed and ſpoiled them. It will be thus with all men of honour, birth, and place; while they do things becoming themſelves, in expreſſing nobleneſs and honour, and virtue, in their lives and courſes, they cannot chooſe but be highly eſteemed; but if they diſcover in themſelves the paſſions, the pride, the vanity and violences that is in the worſer ſort of people, if they make themſelves

ſelves cheap, they will grow into contempt; as the horrid vices of Tiberius the Emperor made him to be hated even of his greateſt flatterers.

A good heart knows not how to reverence, and put an high eſteem upon any thing it obſerves in man, beſides God's image; and when that appears not, but the contrary, men's tongues and pens will make bold with the greateſt.

But why do I ſpend ſo much time, and ink and paper, in ſuch a ſeeming impertinent, unplauſible, and unprofitable reproof? For though that which I have named be ſuch a fault in this nation as no language can ever excuſe, and no time, I fear, will reform; (becauſe the people of this land, by a long cuſtom and continuance, do challenge ſuch a propriety in new faſhions, and are ſo habituated to them, that in all probability nothing which can fall either from the tongues or pens of men ſhall ever be able to reform it) yet before I leave this juſt reproof, I ſhall add a few words more for thoſe that invent, and urge arguments in the defence thereof; as firſt, ſome ſay that theſe new invented things, which multiply faſhions, ſerve to keep and maintain many poor people in work: To theſe I anſwer, as it was ſpoken of Judas, when he grumbled at the expence of that ointment beſtowed on our bleſſed Saviour, John xii. 5. 6. ſaying, "this might have been ſold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor;" but

this he ſaid (ſaith the text) "not that he cared for the poor, &c." So, this ſome ſpeak, not that they love the poor, but the faſhion; which poor might doubtleſs find as comfortable ſubſiſtence, if they were not thus employed. And ſecondly, whereas others pretend, and ſay, that their hearts may be good and humble, whatſoever their habits be; I dare conclude, that it is as impoſſible for a good, humble, and modeſt heart, to dwell under a vain and fantaſtical habit, as for evil to be good.

I know that is a very ſtrange caſe which can find no advocate; a poiſoned pill may be gilded over, as well as that which is wholſome. Favorinus long ago wrote in the commendation of a quartan ague. That foul and filthy diſeaſe hath not wanted a pen to excuſe and commend it. "Fools (ſaith Solomon) make a mock at ſin." Prov. xiv. 9. Others have made a very bad wife the ſubject of their commendation, becauſe (they ſay) ſhe brings a man to repentance. What is it not that the luxuriancy and rankneſs of wit cannot put a varniſh on? when men, like the ſilly fly, play with fire 'till they ſinge their wings, and fall into it. Let me ſpeak therefore, as a Divine, to all thoſe which plead for new faſhions, and therefore think they may be, becauſe they are generally taken up and followed; that ſins are by ſo much the greater, by how much they are more general and univerſal; and that ſin is ſo far from being extenuated, by the multitude of offend-

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ers which live under the guilt thereof, that nothing can more aggravate it.

With men, commonness pleads for favour; with God, it pleads for judgment; the leprosy of the whole body being by far more loathsome than that which appears but in a part thereof. And so much of this. I will now proceed to take notice of other particulars, which follow in this relation; as,

SECTION XII.

Of their Language, their Books, their Learning, &c.

THE language of this empire, I mean the vulgar, bears the name of it, and is called Indostan; it hath much affinity with the Persian and Arabian tongues, but the Indostan is a smoother language, and more easy to be pronounced than the other; a language which is very significant, and speaks much in few words; they write it (as we) to the right hand. It is expressed by letters, which are very much different from those alphabets by which the Persian and Arabian tongues are formed. The Persian there is spoken as their most quaint and court tongue. The Arabian is their learned language. Both written backward to the left hand like the Hebrew, from whence they borrow many words, which come

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ſo near it, that he who is a good critick in the Hebrew may very well gueſs at the meaning of much in both thoſe languages. The Perſian is a language, as if it conſiſted all of guttural letters (as ſome in the Hebrew alphabet are called) filling the mouth in the pronunciation of them; for as the words in that language are full of ſenſe, ſo in their ſpeaking they are full of ſound.

For the Latin and Greek, by which there hath been ſo much knowledge conveyed into the world, they are as ignorant of them both, as if they had never been; and this may be one great reaſon why there is ſo little learning amongſt them. But for the people themſelves, they are men of very ſtrong reaſon, and will ſpeak *ex re natâ*, upon any offered occaſion, very exceeding well; and doubtleſs they are a people of ſuch ſtrong capacities, that were there literature amongſt them, they might be the authors of many excellent works; but as the caſe ſtands with them, all that is there attainable towards learning, is but to read and write.

And here by the way let me inſert this; that I never ſaw any idiot, or natural fool, nor any deformed perſon amongſt them, in any of thoſe parts.

For logic and rhetoric, which are ſo inſtrumental, the firſt to enlarge, and the ſecond to poliſh diſcourſes, they have none but what is natural. They ſay, that they write ſome witty

witty poems, and compoſe many handſome annals and ſtories of their own and other adjacent countries.

They delight much in muſic, and have ſome ſtringed, but many more wind inſtruments; they have the uſe of timbrils likewiſe; but for want of pleaſing airs, their muſic in my ears never ſeemed to be any thing but diſcord.

Their books are not many, and thoſe are manuſcripts. That rare and happy invention of printing, which hath been the advancement of ſo much learning within Chriſtendom, is not known without it.

They have heard of Ariſtotle, whom they call Aplis, and have ſome of his books, as they ſay, in the Arabian tongue, in which language (they further ſay) they have many books written by Avicenna, that ancient phyſician, who was born in Samarchandia, one of the moſt fam'd places within the Tartarian empire, the country (as they believe) where Tamerlane, the Mogul's great anceſtor, drew his firſt breath.

Some parts or fragments they have of the Old Teſtament; of which more, when I ſhall come to ſpeak of their religion.

Many amongſt them profeſs themſelves to have great ſkill in judicial aſtrology, that great cheat, which hath been very anciently and often put upon (as the ſacred ſtory witneſſeth) the people inhabiting the eaſt and ſouth parts of the world. I call it a cheat, becauſe there

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is, and muſt needs be, ſo much uncertainty in it; all things here below being ordered and over-ruled by the ſecret and unerring providence of Almighty God, "which fruſtrateth the tokens of the lyars, and maketh diviners mad; that turneth wiſe men backward, and maketh their knowledge fooliſh." Iſa. xliv. 25. Firſt, theſe diviners are mad, when things fall not out according to their bold predictions; and ſecondly, they have been, and not without cauſe, eſteemed as mad-men, in foretelling things which they could not know, and much leſs bring to paſs.

And therefore I have heard a great maſter in, and a public profeſſor of aſtronomy, who could ſee as far into conſtellations, and obſerve as much from them as any other, often ſay, that he would go by the very ſelf-ſame rules that others did, to predict things to come, and would write that which was quite contrary to what they obſerved; yet what he wrote, ſhould as often fall to be as true as what they foretold.

Yet notwithſtanding the truth of theſe premiſes, the Great Mogul puts ſo much confidence in his Aſtrologers, that he will not undertake a journey, nor yet reſolve to do any thing beſides of the leaſt conſequence, unleſs his wizards tell him it is a good and a proſperous hour to begin and ſet upon ſuch an undertaking; and at the very inſtant he hath his directions from them, he ſets upon the thing he undertakes, and not before.

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"It is ſtrange to conſider what ignorance or deſpair in this caſe may not put men upon, may not put men into; ignorance in that King, thus beſotted with an high opinion of his aſtrologers. So deſpair in Saul, another King long before him, who after he had loſt the favour of God, grew deſperate, and reſolved that if God would not anſwer him, Satan ſhould. And therefore he ſaid in his diſtreſs unto his ſervants, 1 Sam. xxviii. 7. "Seek me out one that hath a familiar ſpirit." The condition of Saul was at this time exceeding ſad, as appears by his complaint, v. 15. "The Philiſtines make war againſt me, and God is departed from me, and anſwers me no more, either by prophets or dreams; and what ſhall I do?" I confeſs that the loſs of God is the greateſt of all loſſes; for as his favour to a believing ſoul, in the want of every thing beſides, is enough, "becauſe his loving kindneſs is better than life itſelf," Pſal. lxiii. 3. ſo the gaining of every thing the world can afford, with the loſs of God's countenance, makes profit loſs, a chair of ſtate uneaſy, an hereditary, and much more a uſurped ſcepter, ſo unweildy, as that it cannot be managed with comfort.

Here Saul, a King, is ſo perplexed in his thoughts, when as Almighty God had taken his loving kindneſs from him, that he aſks the queſtion, what ſhall I do? Not what thou did'ſt (wretched Saul) againſt the ſtream of thy

thy own conſcience, to ſeek unto thoſe whom thou had'ſt but of late condemned and puniſhed, to take a courſe which thou knoweſt to be deviliſh. Miſerable Saul! how could'ſt thou hope to find God at thy command, that would'ſt not be at his? How could'ſt thou look that God ſhould regard thy voice in trouble, that would'ſt not regard his in peace? Saul had now forfeited God's favour, and God takes the forfeiture; and therefore it was not to be wondered at, that he walked ſo irregularly, when he had put himſelf out of God's protection.

Thus before, (Numb. 22) when all help failed Moab, the magician was ſought unto; if there be any one project worſe than another, a wicked heart will find them out; tho' it be a ſign of a moſt deſperate cauſe, when Satan is made either a man's counſellor, or refuge.

What men may do by the help of aſtrology, and do it ſafely and without ſin, deſerves commendation, not blame, nor cenſure. But certainly to conclude of future events, is above art, or man; becauſe thoſe things Almighty God hath lockt up among his ſecrets, far above all reach, or ſearch. Nay, the moſt intelligent ſpirits know nothing of future events; or, could thoſe evil ſpirits truly foretel things to come no way pre-exiſtent, they could not without great danger and ſin be conſulted withal; for the evil of their nature debars all

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the benefit that can come by their information; for they never do a man an apparent good one way, but they do him a real miſchief another.

The Devil (as we may conceive) knows things paſt; and as he animates and encourages a man to theft by his ſuggeſtions, telling him, that he is poor, and muſt live, and therefore may ſteal; that if he cannot ſupport himſelf by warrantable, he muſt live, and therefore may take other courſes. Now the Devil that courts a man to theft, can certainly tell what he ſteals, and therefore can diſcover goods ſtolen; wherein the Devil makes a double advantage unto himſelf; firſt, in making the thief his own; and ſecondly, the other, who leaves God, and repairs to him in his inſtruments for a diſcovery of goods thus ſtolen.

Now for a Mahometan, who lives in the dark, to conſult ſoothſayers and wizards, it is no great marvel, becauſe his ignorance of God puts him upon thoſe mad ſhifts and conceits to have recourſe to Satan: But for ſuch as profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, who live under that clear light, which ſtrictly forbids all ſuch courſes; for theſe in their loſſes to repair to cunning men and women, (as they call them) who cannot poſſibly help them, but by ſome ſecret compact with the Devil, is certainly a very grievous ſin, an undertaking moſt horribly impious. So then, they, whoſoever they be, who to find out their ſtolen goods hazard

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the loſs of their ſouls, however they ſpeed, ſhall gain nothing by that enquiry.

Yet this hath been a ſin very ancient in the world, and undertaken for more ends than I have named. When

Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos,

The naughty children of as bad parents, have ſought out to have the nativity of their fathers calculated, that they might be told (if ſuch a thing could be diſcovered) how long they had to live; thinking every minute a month 'till they ſee them kneeling in braſs or ſtone, or more cheaply buried; that ſo they might be ſetting that abroach with profuſe luxury, which their parents had been long barrelling up with great avarice. It falling out many times by the righteous judgment of Almighty God, that when wickedneſs gets, wickedneſs ſhall conſume the eſtate ſo gotten; according to that in the Prophet Micah, i. 7. "She gathered it of the hire of an harlot, and to an harlot it ſhall return." But I proceed to ſpeak.

SECTION

SECTION XIII.

Of their Phyſicians, Diſeaſes, Cures. When they begin their Year. How they meaſure their Time, &c.

HERE are thoſe which pretend unto much ſkill in phyſic, though (for aught I could ever there obſerve) the people make but little uſe of them, they fearing more *Medicum quàm morbum*; and therefore do believe the phyſician to be the more dangerous diſeaſe.

The common diſeaſes of that country are bloody fluxes, with others that come not to blood, hot fevers, calentures, which ſeize on and fire the head and brain, more than other parts. Theſe many times put our men at ſea into very high diſtempers, eſpecially while they are under the torrid zone, which makes the poor creatures viſited with them ſometimes to conceit the ſpacious ſea and waves therein to be great fields full of haycocks; and if they were not ſometimes happily prevented, would leap overboard to tumble in them.

For ordinary agues, ſuch as are ſo common among us, and for thoſe two torments, rather than diſeaſes, (when they are felt in extremity) the gout and the ſtone, they have the happineſs to be ignorant of them.

But ſometimes they are viſited with an inflamation, or an extreme burning, ſuch as is ſpoken of Deut. xxviii. 22. or rather with a moſt grievous peſtilence, which on a ſudden ſweeps away many thouſands when it comes into great populous cities. This peſtilence makes the bodies of men there which are viſited with it, like a houſe, which on a ſudden is covered all over with fire at once. The city Amadavar (at our being there with the King) was viſited with this peſtilence, in the month of May, and our family was not exempted from that moſt uncomfortable viſitation; for within the ſpace of nine days ſeven perſons that were Engliſh of our family were taken away by it; and none of thoſe which died lay ſick above twenty hours, and the major part well, and ſick, and dead in twelve hours. As our ſurgeon, (who was there all the phyſician we had) and he led the way, falling ſick at mid-day, and the following midnight dead. And there were three more that followed him, one immediately after the other, who made as much haſte to the grave as he had done; and the reſt went after them, within that ſpace of time I named before. And, as I before obſerved, all thoſe that died in our family of this peſtilence, had their bodies ſet all on fire by it, ſo ſoon as they were firſt viſited; and when they were dying, and dead, broad ſpots of a black and blue colour appeared on their breaſts; and their fleſh was made ſo extreme

hot

hot by their moſt high diſtemper, that we who ſurvived could ſcarce endure to keep our hands upon it.

It was a moſt ſad time, a fiery trial indeed. But ſuch is the goodneſs of Almighty God, that he makes the miſeries of men here, *aut tolerabiles, aut breves*, either ſufferable or ſhort; ſo that if the thing impoſed be extreme heavy to be borne, it continues not long, as this moſt grievous viſitation, moſt violent for the time, like a mighty ſtorm, and then blown away. For here the mercy of God ſuddenly ſtept in betwixt the living and the dead; ſo that not only in our family, but alſo in that great city, the plague was ſtayed.

All our family (my Lord Ambaſſador only excepted) were viſited with this ſickneſs; and we all, who through God's help and goodneſs outlived it, had many great bliſters, fill'd with a thick yellow watry ſubſtance, that aroſe upon many parts of our bodies, which when they brake did even burn and corrode our ſkins, as it ran down upon them.

For my part, I had a calenture before at Mandoa, which brought me even into the very jaws of death, from whence it pleaſed God then to reſcue and deliver me; which, amongſt thouſands and millions of mercies more received from him, hath and ſhall forever give me cauſe to ſpeak good of his name.

There are very few Engliſh which come thither, but have ſome violent ſickneſs, which

if they eſcape, and live temperately, they uſually enjoy very much health afterward. But death made many breaches into my Lord Ambaſſador's family; for of four and twenty waiters, beſides his ſecretary and myſelf, there was not above the fourth man returned home; and he himſelf, by violent fluxes, was twice brought even to the very brink of the grave.

The natives of Eaſt-India, in all their violent hot diſeaſes, make very little uſe of phyſicians, unleſs it be to breath a vein ſometimes, after which they uſe much faſting as their moſt hopeful remedy.

That foul diſeaſe (the conſequence of filthy incontinency) is too common in thoſe hot climates, where the people that have it are much more affected with the trouble it brings, than with the ſin or ſhame thereof. As many amongſt us, who care not for iſſue, but luſt; and after pay dear for their filthineſs, which many times rots, or elſe makes bare the bones of them that are thus filthy. For as virtue and goodneſs rewards itſelf; ſo to itſelf wickedneſs is a puniſhment; *pœna peccati peccaſſe*, ſaith Seneca; this is clear in the ſad conſequences of many other ſins; *cui ebu? cui væ?* who hath woe? who hath ſorrow? Solomon aſks the queſtion, and reſolves it too, Prov. xxiii. 29. "they that tarry long at the wine, &c. for it will bite like a ſerpent, and ſting like an adder." How many ſad diſeaſes are contracted to men's bodies by this kind of intem-

intemperancy? who can recount the hurts that by this means come to the whole body, especially to the head, ſtomach, liver, and the more noble parts? who can recite the rheums, gouts, dropſies, apoplexies, inflamations, and other diſtempers hence ariſing? Drunkenneſs being like that ſerpent Amphiſbæna, which hath a ſting in the mouth, and a ſting in the tail, for it kills two ways, firſt the body, and after that the ſoul.

How were the thoughts of Amnon rackt about the compaſſing of that inceſtuous, unnatural, and brutiſh luſt with his ſiſter Tamar? for firſt he is ſick for her, and after he had reaped the bitter fruit of his beaſtly deſires, (his luſt ending in loathing) he was ſick of her, "and hated her exceedingly, and ſaid unto her, ariſe, be gone." 2 Sam. xiii. 15.

Brutus and Caſſius were traitors which Julius Cæſar fear'd, *Macilenti & pallidi*, men pal'd with anger, whoſe thoughts to do miſchief drank up all their own ſap and moiſture. Envy (ſaith Solomon) "is the rottenneſs of the bones," Prov. xiv. 30. hence the heart of the malicious and envious man is never without torment, for it boils continually, as it were in brine; and therefore this ſin is ſaid to have much juſtice in itſelf. *Juſtius invidia nihil eſt*, becauſe it eateth the heart and marrow of her maſter, as he deſireth to have the heart of another eaten up. And thus may it be ſaid of anger, when it boils up to rage, (as many

times it doth) *in ſe ſemper armatur furor*, that it is always in arms againſt itſelf.

The people in East-India live up to our greateſt ages; but without all queſtion they have more old people than we; a thing not to be wonder'd at, if we conſider the great temperance of that people in general in their eating and drinking.

But to proceed. The Hindooes, or Heathens there, begin their year the firſt day of March. The Mahometans begin theirs the tenth, at the very inſtant as the aſtrologers there gueſs that the ſun enters into Aries. Their year, as ours, is divided into twelve months, or rather into thirteen moons, for according to them they make many payments. They diſtinguiſh their time in a much different manner from us, dividing the day into four, and the night into as many parts, which they call Pores; which again they ſubdivide each of them into eight parts, which they call Grees, meaſured according to the ancient cuſtom, by water dropping out of one veſſel into another, by which there always ſtands a man appointed for that ſervice, to turn that veſſel up again when it is all dropped out, and then to ſtrike with a hammer (upon the brim of a concave piece of metal, like the inner part of a large platter, hanging by the brim on a wire) the number of thoſe pores and grees as they paſs. It hath a deep ſound, and may be heard very far; but theſe are not common amongſt them.

Neither

Neither have they any clocks or ſun-dials, to ſhew them further how their time paſſeth.

We lived there ſome part of our time a little within, or under the tropic of Cancer, and then the ſun was our zenith, or verticle, at noon day directly over our heads, at his return to his northern bounds; of which I have ſpoken ſomething before. The ſun riſing there, was about ſix hours in the morning before its appearing here, ſo that it is twelve of the clock with them when it is ſix with us. We had the ſun there above the horizon in December, when the days are ſhorteſt, near eleven hours; and in June, when they are at their fulleſt length, ſomewhat more than thirteen hours; which long abſence of the ſun there from the face of the earth, was very advantageous to cool both the earth and air. I proceed to ſpeak,

SECTION XIV.

Of the moſt excellent Moralities which are to be obſerved amongſt the People of thoſe Nations.

NEXT to thoſe things which are ſpiritually good, there is nothing which may more challenge a due and deſerved commendation, than thoſe things which are morally and materially ſo; and many of theſe may be drawn out to life, from the examples of great numbers amongſt that people.

For the temperance of very many, by far the greateſt part of the Mahometans and Gentiles, it is ſuch, as that they will rather chooſe to die, like the mother and her ſeven ſons, mentioned in the ſecond of Machabees, and ſeventh chapter, than eat or drink any thing their law forbids them. Of like thoſe Rechabites, mentioned Jer. xxxv. "where Jonadab their father commanded them to drink no wine, and they did forbear it for the commandment's ſake." Such meat and drink as the law allows them, they take only to ſatisfy nature, (as before) not appetite, ſtrictly obſerving Solomon's rule, Prov. xxiii. 2. in keeping a knife to their throats, that they may not tranſgreſs in taking too much of the creature; hating gluttony, and eſteeming drunkenneſs, as indeed it is, another madneſs; and therefore have but one word in their language, though it be very copious, and that word is *meſt*, for a drunkard, and a mad-man; which ſhews their hatred of drunken diſtempers; for none of the people there are at any time ſeen drunk (though they might find liquor enough to do it) but the very offal and dregs of that people, and theſe rarely or very ſeldom.

And here I ſhall inſert another moſt needful particular to my preſent purpoſe, which deſerves a moſt high commendation to be given unto that people in general, how poor and mean ſoever they be; and that is, the great exemplary care they manifeſt in their

piety

piety to their parents, that notwithſtanding they ſerve for very little, (as I obſerved before) but five ſhillings a moon for their whole livelihood and ſubſiſtence; yet if their parents be in want, they will impart at the leaſt half of that little towards their neceſſities, chooſing rather to want themſelves, than that their parents ſhould ſuffer need.

I would have this read and read over again by many who call themſelves Chriſtians, yet moſt ſhamefully neglect thoſe loins from which they fell, looking upon their parents, if they be in need, either with a ſcornful or a grudging eye. Whence we have this ſaying amongſt us, that one father and mother will better provide for ten helpleſs children, than ſo many children make fitting proviſion for one poor father and mother; as if they were not the ſons and daughters of men, but rather children of the horſe-leeches, who are ever crying, give, give, never returning aught, or any thing proportionable to anſwer that love and care they have received from their parents.

It is the precept of the Apoſtle, Epheſ. vi. 2. (which is often repeated before in the ſacred ſtory) "honour thy father and thy mother, which is the firſt commandment with promiſe," with promiſe of a bleſſing unto all thoſe who perform that duty as they ought. Now this honouring of parents muſt be expreſſed by all ways that manifeſt children's duty; not only in an outward reſpect and diſtance,

tance, but alſo in a free relief of them, if children be able, and parents ſtand in need.

'Tis well obſerved, that when Noah, once "ſurprized by wine, had laid open his nakedneſs in his tent," Gen. ix. and by one hour's drunkenneſs had diſcovered that which more than ſix hundred years ſobriety had modeſtly concealed, (for drunkenneſs doth make imperfections, and preſents them thus made to others eyes) that his ſons Shem and Japhet, out of duty and reſpect unto their father, took a garment and went backward, that they might cover, not behold their father's, nakedneſs. Which act of duty and reſpect unto their father, was largely repaid unto them in their poſterity; whereas Cham, their brother, for his undutifulneſs in this caſe, bears his father's curſe, and lives under it, and is plagued in his children. We may conclude it as a rule, that there have not been any very neglectful of, or rebelliouſly undutiful unto their parents, that have proſpered in themſelves and ſeed. Abſalom lifts up his hand againſt his father David, and his head is after lifted up and hanged in an oak, where he died miſerably, 2 Sam. xviii. I could inſtance further, if it were the buſineſs of this diſcourſe. But I return again to the place from whence I am digreſſed, and muſt ſay

Further for this people, (which is not the leaſt commendation of them) they are in general a nation that do never pride it in any new

faſhions;

fashions; for as they are very civilly clad, so am I confident that they keep to the very self-same fashion that their ancestors did wear many hundred years ago, as before I observed.

And certainly, if a man should take his journey from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, he should not find a people in all the world so over-run with an itch after a new fashion, as the French and English are; of which likewise something before.

For the Mahometans, (who live much upon the labours of the Hindooes, keeping them under, because they formerly conquered them) there are many of them idle, and know better to eat than work; and these are all for to-morrow, a word very common in their mouths; and the word is *sub-ba*, which signifies to-morrow, and when that day comes, to-morrow; and so still to-morrow, they will set down upon their business to-morrow, will do any thing you would have them to do to-morrow, they will bestow any thing upon you *sub-ba*, to-morrow. *Pollicitis divites*, most rich in promises, in performances not so. That being true of many of those Mahometans, which Livie sometimes spake of Hannibal, that he stood most to his promise when it was most for his profit, (though to do the Mahometans in general right, such as are merchants and traders are exact in their dealings) or as Plutarch

tarch writes of Antigonus the King, who was called Δοσων, as being ever about to give, but ſeldom giving. Or as Martial of his Poſthumus,

Cras te venturum, Cras dicis, Poſthume, ſemper:
Dic mihi cras iſtud, Poſthume, quando venit.

To-morrow ſtill thou ſay'ſt thou'lt come to me:
Say, Poſthumus, when will that morrow be?

But for the Hindooes, or Heathens, the ancient inhabitants of East-India, they are a very induſtrious people, very diligent in all the works of their particular callings, believing that bread ſweeteſt, and moſt ſavoury, which is gain'd by ſweat. Theſe are for the generality the people that plant and till the ground; theſe they which make thoſe curious manufactures that empire affords; working (as we ſay) with tooth and nail, employing their ears and toes, as well as their fingers, to aſſiſt them (by holding threads of ſilk) in the making of ſome things they work. Theſe are a people who are not afraid of a lion in the way, of a lion in the ſtreets, as the ſlothful man is, Prov. xxvi. 13. but they lay hold on the preſent time, the opportunity, to ſet upon their buſineſſes which they are to do to-day; they being very laborious in their ſeveral employments, and very ſquare and exact to make good all their engagements.

Which appears much in their juſtneſs manifeſted

feſted unto thoſe that trade with them; for if a man will put it unto their conſciences to ſell the commodity he deſires to buy at as low a rate as he can afford it, they will deal ſquarely and honeſtly with him; but if in thoſe bargainings a man offer them much leſs than their ſet price, they will be apt to ſay, what, doſt thou think me a Chriſtian, that I would go about to deceive thee?

A ſalt, a ſharp, a biting ſarcaſm, or rather a horrible truth, to be put upon the ſcore of many who call themſelves Chriſtians, yet reſolve, *quocunque modo rem*, to get what they can gain, however they get it. It therefore concerns all, and that moſt highly, who trade in thoſe parts, and are called by that name, if they will trade for Heaven, as well as commodities, (which if they do not, their returns will be ſad and poor, and all their labour loſt) to look about them, and to be very circumſpect in all their doings and dealings, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blaſphemed, and Chriſtianity itſelf made to ſuffer, by any of their unjuſtifiable carriages.

I never obſerve that place, Gen. xx. 18. where Abimelech reproves Sarah, but methinks it is ſad for Sarah, the wife of Abraham, of Abraham the father of the faithful, to do that for which ſhe might be reproved by Abimilech. It was a ſhameful reproof indeed for a woman of her ſort to be taught her duty, and upbraided with her faults by a heathen

heathen man. Surely it cannot but grieve every good heart, to hear that which is too often, and truly ſpoken, to the ſhame and reproach of the goſpel; that there is more truth and fidelity, more juſt dealing and moral honeſty, more care of their word, more good neighbourhood and kindneſs, more charity and mercifulneſs, among a number of meer natural men, nay among Turks and Infidels, than amongſt a great many who are of chief note for the profeſſion of the goſpel.

When the Canaanites and Perizzites had ſeen what the ſons of Jacob, Simeon, and Levi, had done unto the Shechemites, how that they had broken their promiſe and covenant with them, how cruelly and barbarouſly they had us'd them, this made Jacob to ſay (though alas! he was far from approving and conſenting to that they did) that it would "make his religion to ſtink among the inhabitants of the land." Gen. xxxiv. 30.

Surely for moral honeſty it is moſt true, that even thoſe Heathens I have named marvellouſly exceed us in it; and oh! that Chriſtians would be made to bluſh at the conſideration thereof; Chriſtians, that have the book of God for their direction, where they may run and read their duties, beſides that book of nature, which is the only guide that people have to walk by: yet that theſe who live in darkneſs and in the ſhadow of death, ſhould perform many of the ſtricteſt things of the

law

law of bondage, and Chriſtians who live under a law of liberty, liberty in and through Chriſt Jeſus, liberty (I ſay) for all thoſe that do not abuſe it, ſhould be ſo blinded with light that they perform not the things, no not of nature.

It is a moſt ſad and horrible thing to conſider what ſcandal there is brought upon the Chriſtian religion, by the looſeneſs and remiſneſs, by the exorbitances of many, which come amongſt them, who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, of whom I have often heard the natives (who live near the port where our ſhips arrive) ſay thus, in broken Engliſh which they have gotten, "Chriſtian religion, Devil religion, Chriſtian much drunk, Chriſtian much do wrong, much beat, much abuſe others."

The unmatcht extremities of tyranny and cruelty (to which nothing could be added to make it more cruel) practiſed by the Spaniards upon the people of Weſt-India, is above all example, and almoſt belief; when their bloody outrages were ſuch, as made thoſe wretched natives to ſubmit unto any kind of death, which they would voluntarily impoſe upon themſelves, rather than endure the Spaniards tyranny. Benzo, in his ſtory of Weſt-India, writes ſtrange things of them. Firſt, of their cruelty, that they deſtroyed more than twenty millions of people amongſt them; and then that thoſe Indians would ſay of them,

En

En Chriſtiane, quid ſunt Chriſtiani? &c. O Chriſtian, what are Chriſtians? and thus they anſwered themſelves by defining them: Chriſtians are ſuch as thirſt after innocent blood; Chriſtians ſuch as deſire other men's lands, other men's wives, other men's gold and ſilver; and would hold out little wedges of gold, and ſay, *En Deus Chriſtianorum*, behold the God of the Chriſtians! They would further add, that the Chriſtians ſaid, that they were the children of God, and that after death they went to Heaven; upon which they gave this judgment, *Qualis Deus iſte, qui tam impuros & ſceleratos filios habet?* What kind of God was the God of the Chriſtians, which had ſuch impure and wicked ſons? And if he were like them, there could be no goodneſs in him. And if thoſe Chriſtians went to Heaven, they would not deſire to go thither, for they would not be where the Chriſtians were. And thus was the honour of God, the name of Chriſtianity, by their moſt lewd and moſt cruel behaviour, derided, defamed, reproached, by thoſe which were infidels and Paynims.

But to return again unto the people of East-India: Though the Chriſtians which come amongſt them do not ſuch horrible things, yet they do enough to make Chriſtianity itſelf evil ſpoken of, as a religion that deſerves more to be abhorred, than embraced. For truly it is a ſad ſight there to behold a drunken Chriſtian, and a ſober Indian; a temperate Indian, and a

Chriſtian

Christian given up to his appetite. An Indian that is just and square in his dealing, a Christian not so; a laborious Indian, and an idle Christian, as if he was born only to fold his arms, or *frustra tantum consumere natus*, to devour corn, and wear out wool. O what a sad thing it is for Christians to come short of Indians, even in moralities; to come short of those whom themselves believe come short of Heaven.

Now if any ask whence those moral virtues flow that so much adorn Heathens? I answer in those words of our Saviour spoken to Peter in another case, Mat. xvi. 17. "that flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto them." But certainly it proceeds from more than those, and that is, from those remnants and remains, from those common impressions and notions, which are sealed up in the minds of every one that hath a reasonable soul, a part of Adam's first integrity before his fall, a substance or blessing in a tree that seemed to be dead; little sparks raked up (as it were) under many ashes, which can never die, nor be utterly extinguished, so long as the soul liveth. Hence the Apostle speaks this of the Gentiles, Rom. ii. 14, 15. "that they having not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, which shews the works of the law written in their hearts, &c." But so much be spoken of the moralities of that people; I come now to take notice,

SECTION XV.

Of their Religion, their Prieſts, their Devotion, their Churches, &c.

AND now I come to ſpeak of their religion, I ſhall firſt take notice of the Mahometan religion there profeſſed. That of the Hindooes, or Heathens, ſhall find a place wherein I may ſpeak of it afterwards.

But firſt of the Mahometan religion, becauſe the great Mogul, with his grandees, and all other of quality about him, are Mahometans; which religion (if it deſerves that name) took its firſt riſe, and began to be profeſſed in the world, about the year of Chriſt 620, as hath been obſerved by many writers.

The ring-leader to it, and chief founder of it, was Mahomet, an Arabian by birth, born (as is ſaid) in a very obſcure place, and of very mean and low parentage, but a man fill'd with all ſubtilty and craft; who, (as they write) after that he had much enriched himſelf by wives, came to be the commander of a company of Arabian volunteers that followed Heraclius, the Emperor, in his Perſian wars; but not long after himſelf and ſoldiers, falling firſt into mutiny, and after that to rebellion, (which was an excellent preparative to put an innovation or change on religion) and his ſoldiers

diers ſtanding cloſe unto him, he himſelf, with the help of Sergivus, a Chriſtian by profeſſion, but an heretical Neſtorian Monk, and of Abdalla, a Jew, compoſed a religion, that hath nothing in it, of that ſavours of nothing ſo much, as of rude ignorance, and moſt palpable impoſture; it being a monſter of many heads, a moſt damnable mixture of horrid impieties, if it be conſidered altogether.

Yet becauſe it contains much in it very pleaſing to fleſh and blood, and ſooths up and compliles exceedingly with corrupt nature, it wanted no followers preſently to embrace and aſſert it; ſo that in a little time, like a gangrene, it ſpread itſelf into many parts of Aſia, and ſince that hath enlarged itſelf like Hell; ſo that at this preſent day it hath more that profeſs it in the world, than thoſe which profeſs Chriſtianity, if we take in all collectively that do but bear the names of Chriſtians the world over.

The poor people, that are ſo much abuſed by the ſtrong deluſions of that great impoſtor, ſay for themſelves thus, that God hath ſent three great prophets into the world, firſt Moſes, and after him Chriſt, and then Mahomet; and further add, that when Chriſt left the world, he promiſed to ſend a comforter into it, and that comforter was Mahomet, and therefore they cloſe with him.

I ſhall not need, amongſt men profeſſing Chriſtianity, to write any thing in anſwer to

those their frantic assertions, neither will I make it my business to enlarge myself in the discovery of the Mahometan religion, because that hath been done by so many hands already; only this I will say of it, and not much more, that it hath will-worship for its foundation, fables and lyes for its support, and a groundless presumption for its superstructure.

For its foundation, first, abundance of will-worship, manifested in many outward performances, which are not hard to be performed, because the depraved will of man is ready prest and bent to perform things of that kind with readiness, chearfulness, and delight. The works of your father, the Devil, you will do, saith our Saviour of the obstinate Jews, do them, be they never so hard, with content and willingness.

Secondly, the Mahometan religion hath abundance of strange, monstrous fables and lyes for its support, their Alcoran (for the substance of it) being a fardle of foolish impossibilities, fit to be received by none but fools and mad-men; for they can gain no more credit with those that are judicious, than what is related in the rhiming story of that antient knight-errant, Bevis of Southampton, or in the poems of Orlando the furious, where may be found some such like parallel fictions; as of Astalpho, who mounted a griffin, which carried him up immediately into the moon, where (they say) Mahomet some time was;

the

reaſon, I conceive, which made himſelf and his followers ever ſince ſo ful of lunacy, or madneſs.

Thirdly, it has a groundleſs preſumption for its ſuperſtructure, which preſumption draws that miſled people into a carleſs ſecurity, they eſteeming themſelves the only true believers of the world, and none true believers but themſelves.

Yet it cannot be denied, but that there are ſome things in the precepts which Mahomet hath preſcribed to be received and obſerved by his followers, that are good, laid down in eight commandments, which are theſe:

Firſt, That God is a great God, and the only God, and Mahomet is the prophet of God.

Second, That children muſt obey their parents, and do nothing to diſpleaſe them, either in word or deed.

Third, That every one muſt do to another that, and only that, which he would have another do to him.

Fourth, That every man, five times every day, muſt repair to the moſque, or church, to pray there; or whereſoever he is, he muſt pray every day ſo often; if not in the church, then elſewhere.

Fifth, That one whole moon in every year, every man, come to years of diſcretion, muſt ſpend the whole day, 'twixt the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, in faſting.

Sixth, That every one out of his ſtore, muſt give unto the poor liberally, freely, and voluntarily.

Seventh, That every one, except thoſe votaries which renounce marriage, muſt marry, to increaſe and multiply the ſect and religion of Mahomet.

Eighth, That no man muſt kill, or ſhed blood.

Now much in theſe commandments agrees with the word of truth; and we need not wonder at it, when we conſider, that even the Devil himſelf (as we may obſerve in the goſpel) hath ſometimes had a ſcripture in his mouth. So have hereticks, and ſo did Mahomet and his aſſiſtants mix ſome ſcripture in their Alcoran, to put a fairer gloſs upon their irreligion. But what ſcriptures they all urge, are for the moſt part, if not ever, wreſted, by their maiming or perverting, or miſapplying of them. Thus the Devil quotes a ſcripture, Mat. iv. 6. but one part is left out, and the reſt miſapplied. Thoſe therefore who wreſt or mangle ſcripture, to ſerve their own turn, we may ſee from whoſe ſchool they have it. Thus Mahomet cites ſcripture to do more miſchief by it: Let no man content himſelf, and think all well, becauſe he can ſometimes ſpeak good words, and have a ſcripture in his mouth; when he conſiders, that Hereticks, Hypocrites, do ſo, that Mahomet, nay Satan himſelf, hath done as much.

Satan

Satan can transform himſelf into an angel of light, and ſeem holy, to do miſchief: Thus Simeon and Levi (out of conſcience pretended) could not give their ſiſter to an uncircumciſed man, Gen. xxxiv. there was God in their mouths, but Satan in their hearts; they hide their cruelty with craft, and cover their craft with religion. Of all miſchiefs, thoſe that ſmile moſt, are moſt deadly; the ugliеſt and vileſt of all projects well make uſe of Religion as a foil, to ſet them off; poiſoned pills can find gold to cover them; becauſe the worſe that any thing is, the better ſhew it deſires to make.

But to proceed. The Mahometan prieſts are called Moolaas, who read ſome parcels out of their Alcoran, upon Fridays, (which are their ſabbaths, or days of reſt) unto the people aſſembled in their moſques or churches; and then further deliver ſome precepts, which they gather out of it, unto their miſerably deluded hearers.

Theſe Moolaas are they which join thoſe of that religion in marriage; and theſe employ much of their time as ſcriveners, to do buſineſs for others; or to teach their young children to write and read their language in written hand, for (as before) they have no printing. Thoſe Moolaas are more diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Mahometans by their beards (which they wear long) than by any other of their habits. Their calling gains

and gives them very much reverence and eſteem amongſt the people; as another ſort of prieſts there have, of an high order and rank, which live much retired; but when they appear openly, are moſt highly reverenced; they are called Seayds, who derive themſelves from Mahomet.

The Mahometans have fair churches, which (as before) they call Moſques; their churches are built of marble or coarſer ſtone; the broad ſide towards the weſt is made up cloſe like a firm wall, and ſo are both ends, in which there are no lights; the other broad ſide, towards the eaſt, is erected upon pillars, (where a man may take notice of excellent workmanſhip, both in vaults and arches) the ſpaces between which pillars ſtand open. Their churches are built long and narrow, ſtanding north and ſouth, which way they lay up the bodies of their dead, but none of them within their churches.

At the four corners of their moſques which ſtand in great cities, or in other places much peopled, there are high and round, but ſmall turrets, which are made open with lights every way, wherein a man may be eaſily ſeen and heard; their devout Moolaas five times every day aſcend unto the tops of thoſe high turrets, whence they proclaim, as loud as they can poſſibly ſpeak, their prophet Mahomet, thus in Arabian, *La alla illa alla, Mahomet Reſul-alla*, that is, here is no God, but one God,

God, and Mahomet, the meſſenger of God: That voice, inſtead of bells, (which they uſe not in their churches) puts the moſt devout in mind of the hours of their devotion; thoſe prieſts being exceedingly zealous to promote the cauſe, and to keep up the honour of their Mahomet; as the men of Epheſus ſometime were, when they feared that the credit of their baggage Diana was like to be called into queſtion, they took up a cry which continued for the ſpace of two hours, crying out with one voice, "great is Diana of the Epheſians." Acts xix. 24.

When a man's religion is right, he ought to be very zealous in the maintenance of it, very fearful of the hazard, or loſs thereof; and therefore if theſe Mahometans, or thoſe men of Epheſus, had had truth on their ſide, they would both have deſerved much commendation for what they did. And ſo Micah too, who thus complained, when he had loſt his images, Judg. xviii. 24. "they have ſtolen away my Gods, and what have I more?" I confeſs that the loſs of God is the greateſt of all loſſes; but thoſe were proper Gods which Micah there bewailed, that would be ſtolen, that could not ſave themſelves; who, if the fire ſpare them, ruſt, or rottenneſs, or time, will conſume them. But thoſe Mahometans, though they do not endure either idols or images in their houſes, or churches, yet are they very forward to cry up their irreligion, and to ſhew much zeal for it.

Zeal

Zeal is derived from a word that ſignifies to burn; it is a compound, made up of many affections, as of grief, joy, love, anger, well tempered together, and when it is ſo, it hath its due commendation both of God and man; and curſed is he that goes about to extinguiſh that holy fire, that holy fire (I ſay) which hath light in it as well as heat, and heat as well as light. The truth of zeal may be further diſcovered (of zeal that is good) if we conſider firſt the root from which it ſprings, and that's the knowledge and love of God; ſecondly, the rule by which it is carried on, and acts, and that's the word and will of God; and laſtly, the end it aims at, and intends, and that's the honour and glory of God; and zeal thus ordered cannot be too violent: But when for want of theſe it becomes irregular, and ſhews itſelf over much in bad cauſes, (ſuch as before were nam'd) it is, *Curſus celerrimus, ſed præter viam*, a ſwift violent motion, but quite out of the way.

And if it be good to be zealous in a good cauſe, then it is better to be zealous in the beſt; and the beſt cauſe to ſhew zeal in, is the cauſe of God; *pro aris & focis*, was the good old proverb; firſt to ſtand up for God's rights, and afterward for our own; and to believe that that *unum neceſſarium*, which our Saviour commends unto us, Lu. x. 42. is that one thing principally and eſpecially neceſſary; though the Devil, and our own corruption, will tell

us,

us, (if we will believe them) that there is nothing more needleſs. When Moſes and Aaron came to Pharaoh, and ſpake unto him about ſacrificing unto the Lord their God, Pharaoh replies, ye are idle, ye are idle, therefore ye ſay, let us go and ſacrifice unto the Lord, Ex. 5. 17. The ſame Devil that there ſpake in Pharaoh, ſpeaks in all ignorant and prophane people, who call religion idleneſs and hypocriſy; a ſtrict and even walking with God, ſingularity, or a doing more than God requires us to perform.

But, however, that is moſt true which was ſpoken by Philo-Judeus, *Ubi de religione, ibi quoque de vita agitur*, we muſt act for religion, as we would ſtrive for life. Philoſophy tells us, that *Tactus eſt fundamentum animæ ſenſitivæ*, that the very foundation of natural life is feeling; ſo then, no feeling, no life; and the want of ſpiritual feeling, argues the want too of ſpiritual life. The poor ſeduced Mahometans, and many others in the world, are very keen, ſharp, and forward, to maintain that which they call Religion; the more ſhame for thoſe who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, and have a ſure word to build their hope upon, yet are *ferventiſſimi in terrenis, in cæleſtibus frigidiſſimi*, as hot as fire in earthly, as cold as ice in heavenly things: A ſad thing to conſider, that ſo many ſhould have their tongues bent like bows for lyes, (as the prophet Jeremy complains, Jer. ix. 37.) and Chriſtians not

valiant

valiant for the truth; that others ſhould drive, like Jehu, furiouſly, madly, and that in the ways of error, injuſtice, oppreſſion, prophaneneſs, as in all other kinds of wickedneſs; and Chriſtians, in the cauſe of God, more heavily, ſlowly, like the Egyptians in the Red-Sea, when their chariot wheels were off. Shall Turks and Infidels ſolicit bad cauſes ſo earneſtly; and Chriſtians thoſe actions which are good ſo faintly! *Acrius ad perniciem, quàm nos ad vitam*; make more haſte to deſtruction, than Chriſtians to life and happineſs! It was St. Jerome's complaint, *conſiderare pudet quantus feruor, quæ cura, &c.* that he was aſham'd to conſider how ſolicitous ſome men were in earthly, and how ſluggiſh others in heavenly things, as if they durſt not ſo much as to own the cauſe of God. They were wont to ſay of cowards, in Rome, that there was nothing Roman in them; it may be apply'd to Chriſtians, who ſhew no reſolutions for Chriſt, that there is nothing Chriſtian in them; they even betraying the cauſe of Chriſt, while they ſo faintly maintain it. Hardly would they die for Chriſt, who dare not ſpeak for him; certainly they would never be brought to afford him their blood, that will not for the preſent afford him their breath.

But to return again to thoſe Mahometan prieſts, who out of zeal do ſo often proclaim their Mahomet. Tom Coryat, upon a time, having heard their Moolaas often (as before) ſo

to

to cry, got him upon an high place directly oppoſite to one of thoſe prieſts, and contradicted him thus: *La alla illa alla, Haſaret Eeſa Ben-alla*; that is, no God, but one God, and the Lord Chriſt, the Son of God; and further added, that Mahomet was an impoſtor: And all this he ſpake in their own language, as loud as poſſibly he could, in the ears of many Mahometans that heard it. But whether (circumſtances conſidered) the zeal or diſcretion of our Pilgrim were more here to be commended, I leave to the judgement of my reader: That he did ſo, I am ſure; and I further believe how that bold attempt of his, if it had been acted in many other places of Aſia, would have coſt him his life, with as much torture as cruelty could have invented; but he was here taken for a mad-man, and ſo let alone.

Happily, the rather, becauſe every one there hath liberty to profeſs his own religion freely, and if he pleaſe may argue againſt theirs, without fear of an inquiſition; as Tom Coryat did at another time, with a Moolaa; and the queſtion, which of theſe two was the Muſſleman, or true believer? After much heat on both ſides, Tom Coryat thus diſtinguiſhed, that himſelf was the orthodox Muſſleman, or true true believer, the Moola the pſeudo Muſſleman, or falſe true believer; which diſtinction, if I had not thought it would have made my reader ſmile, had been here omitted.

The Mahometans have a ſet form of prayer

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in the Arabian tongue, not underſtood by many of the common people, yet repeated by them as well as by the *Moolaas*; they likewiſe rehearſe the names of God, and of their Mahomet, certain times every day upon beads, like the miſled Papiſts, who ſeem to regard more the number, than the weight of prayers.

Certainly will-worſhip is a very eaſy duty; and if Almighty God would be as much pleaſed with it as man is, ſo much of that ſervice would not be quite loſt: But in thoſe ſervices wherein God is highly concern'd, to reſt in the performance of any duty, when 'tis done, or any other way to fail in the manner of doing it, makes thoſe ſervices, which ſome may eſteem holy, no better than ſins; prayers, an abomination; there being a vaſt difference betwixt ſaying of prayers, and praying of prayers; 'twixt the ſervice of the head and that of the heart; prayer, and prayer, (heedful circumſtances conſidered) differing as much as Religion and Superſtition.

But for the carriage of that people in their devotions. Before they go into their churches they waſh their feet; and entering into them, put off their ſhoes. As they begin their devotions, they ſtop their ears, and fix their eyes, that nothing may divert their thoughts; then in a ſoft and ſtill voice they utter their prayers, wherein are many words moſt ſignificantly expreſſing the omnipotency, greatneſs, eternity, and other attributes of God. Many words

words likewiſe that ſeem to expreſs much humiliation, they confeſſing in divers ſubmiſſive geſtures their own unworthineſs, when they pray, caſting themſelves low upon their face ſundry times, and then acknowledge that they are burthens to the earth, and poiſon to the air, and the like; being ſo confounded and aſham'd, as that they ſeem not to dare ſo much as to lift up their eyes towards Heaven; but after all this, comfort themſelves in the mercies of God, through the mediation of Mahomet.

If this people could as well conclude, as they can begin and continue their prayers, in reſpect of their expreſſions and carriages in them, they might find comfort; but the concluſion of their devotions mars all.

Yet this, for their commendation, (who doubtleſs, if they knew better would pray better) that what diverſions and impediments ſoever they have, ariſing either from pleaſure or profit, the Mahometans pray five times a day. The Mogul doth ſo, who ſits upon the throne; the ſhepherd doth ſo, that waits on his flock in the field, (where, by the way, they do not follow their flocks, but their flocks them); all ſorts of Mahometans do thus, whether fixed in a place, or moving in a journey, when their times or hours of prayer come, which in the morning are at ſix, nine, and twelve of the clock, and at three and ſix in the afternoon.

When they pray, it is their manner to ſet their faces that they may look towards Medina, near

near Mecca, in Arabia, where their great seducer, Mahomet, was buried, who promiſed them, after one thouſand years, to fetch them all to Heaven; which term when it was out, and the promiſe not fulfilled, the Mahometans concluded that their forefathers miſtook the time of the promiſe of his coming, and therefore reſolved to wait for the accompliſhment of it one thouſand years more. In the mean time they do ſo reverence that place where the body of Mahomet was laid up, that whoſoever hath been there (as there are divers which flock yearly thither in pilgrimage) are for ever after called, and eſteemed Hoggees, which ſignifies holy men.

And here the thing being rightly and ſeriouſly conſidered, it is a very great ſhame that a Mahometan ſhould pray five times every day, that Pagans and Heathens ſhould be very frequent in their devotions; and Chriſtians (who only can hope for good anſwers in prayer) ſo negligent in that great prevailing duty. For a Mahometan to pray five times every day, what diverſions ſoever he hath to hinder him, and for a Chriſtian to let any thing interrupt his devotion; for a Mahometan to pray five times a day, and for one that is called a Chriſtian not to pray (ſome believing themſelves above this and other ordinances) five times in a week, a month, a year.

But this will admit leſs cauſe of wonder, if we conſider how that many bearing the names

of

of Christians cannot pray at all; those I mean which are profane and filthy, and who live as if there were no God to hear, or to judge, and no Hell to punish. Such as these can but babble, they cannot pray; for they blaspheme the name of God, while they may think they adore it.

I shall add here a short story: It happened that I once having some discourse with a Mahometan of good quality, and speaking with him about his frequent praying, I told him, that if himself, and others of his profession who did believe it as a duty to pray so often, could conclude their petition in the name of Jesus Christ, they might find much comfort in those their frequent performances, in that great duty: He answered, that I needed not to trouble myself with that, for they found as great comfort as they could desire in what they did: And presently he would needs infer this relation.

There was (said he) a most devout Mussleman, who had his habitation in a great city where Mahomet was zealously professed, and that man for many years together spent his whole day in the mosque, or church; in the mean time, he minding not the world at all, became so poor that he had nothing left to buy bread for his family; yet notwithstanding his poor condition, he was resolved still to ply his devotions; and in a morning (when he perceived there was nothing at all left for

the further ſubſiſtence of himſelf and houſe-hold) took a ſolemn leave of his wife and children, reſolving for his part to go and pray and die in the moſque, leaving his family (if no relief came) to famiſh at home. But that very day he put on this reſolution, there came to his houſe in his abſence a very beautiful young man, (as he appeared to be) who brought and gave unto his wife a very good quantity of gold, bound up in a white napkin, telling her, that God had now remembered her huſband, and ſent him his pay for his conſtant pains taken in his devotion; withal charging her not to ſend for her huſband, for though he had taken ſuch a ſolemn leave of her that morning, yet he would come home to her again that night; and ſo he departed from her. The woman preſently bought in ſome neceſſaries for her houſe, (for they had eaten up all before) and further made ſome good proviſion for her huſband againſt his coming home in the evening, for ſo he did; and finding all his family chearful and merry, his wife preſently told him that there had been ſuch a one there, as before deſcribed, and left ſo much gold behind him, with that fore-mentioned meſſage delivered with it. Her huſband preſently replied, that it was the Angel Gabriel, ſent from God (for the Mahometans ſpeak much of that angel); and he further added, that himſelf had nothing to bring home unto her but a little gret, or ſand, which

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he took up in his way homeward, and bound it in his girdle; which he presently opening to shew her, it was all turn'd into precious stones, which amounted to a very great value in money; the seventh part of which, as of his gold likewise, he presently gave to the poor; for, said he, a Mussleman is very charitable; and then inferred, that if we do not neglect God, he will not forget us, but when we stand most in need of help will supply us. Unto which conclusion we may all subscribe; leaving the premisses that are laid down in that story, unto those that dare believe them.

The Mahometans say, that they have the books of Moses; but they have very much corrupted that story, in ascribing that to Ishmael, which is said of Isaac, Gen. xxii. as if Ishmael should have been sacrificed, not Isaac; (of which more afterward.) They say that they have the book of David's Psalms, and some writings of Solomon, with other parcels of the Old Testament; which, if so, I believe are made much to vary from the original.

They speak very much in the honour of Moses, whom they call *Moosa Calim-Alla*, Moses, the publisher of the mind of God. So of Abraham, whom they call *Ibrahim Carim-Alla*, Abraham, the honoured or friend of God.

So of Ishmael, whom they call *Ismal*, the sacrifice of God. So of Jacob, whom they call *Acob*, the blessing of God. So of Joseph,

whom they call *Eesoff*, the betrayed for God. So of David, whom they call *Dahood*, the lover and praiser of God. So of Solomon, whom they call *Selymon*, the wisdom of God; all expressed as the former, in short Arabian words, which they sing in ditties unto their particular remembrances.

And by the way, many of the Mahometans there are called by the names of Moosa, or Ibrahim, or Ismal, or Acob, or Eesoff, or Dahood, or Selymon: So others are called Mahmud, or Chaan, which signifies the Moon, or Frista, which signifies a Star, &c. And they call their women by the names of flowers or fruit of their country, or by the names of spices or odours, or of pearls, or precious stones, or else by other names of pretty or pleasing signification. As Job named one of his daughters Jemimah, which signifies clear as the day; the second Keziah, which signifies pleasant as cassia, or sweet spice; and the name of the third, Keren-happuch, signifying the horn, or strength of beauty, Job xlii. 14.

But I'll return again to that people, that I may acquaint my reader with one thing of special observation, and 'tis this: That there is not one among the Mahometans (of any understanding) which at any time mentions the name of our blessed Saviour, called there Hazaret Eesa, the Lord Christ, but he makes mention of it with high reverence and respect:

For

they ſay of Chriſt, that he was a good man, and a juſt, that he lived without ſin, that he did greater miracles than ever any before, or ſince him; nay further they call him *Rha-how-Alla*, the breath of God; but how he ſhould be the ſon of God, cannot conceive, and therefore cannot believe.

Perhaps the Socinians firſt took that their opinion from theſe, which bids them to have every thing they receive as truth, to be cleared up unto them by the ſtrength of reaſon, as if there were no need of the exerciſe of faith.

And truly (I muſt needs confeſs) that to believe the incarnation of the ſon of God, is one of the hardeſt and greateſt taſks for faith to encounter withal: That God ſhould be made a man, that this man Chriſt ſhould be born of a virgin, that life ſhould ſpring from death, and that from contempt and ſcorn, triumph and victory ſhould come, &c. But Chriſtians muſt bind up all their thoughts, as to theſe, in that excellent meditation of Picus Mirandula, ſaying, *Mirandam Dei Incarnationem*, &c. Concerning that admirable and wonderful incarnation of Chriſt, the Son of God, I ſhall not ſay much, it being ſufficient for me, as for all others that look for benefit by Chriſt, to believe, that he was begotten, and that he was born. Theſe are articles of our faith; and we are not Chriſtians if we believe them not.

It may ſeem very ſtrange, therefore, that the Mahometans (who underſtand themſelves

better) ſhould have ſuch a very high eſteem of our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt, and yet think us who profeſs ourſelves Chriſtians, to be ſo unworthy, or ſo unclean, as that they will not eat with us any thing that is of our dreſſing, nor yet of any thing that is dreſſed in our veſſels.

There are more particulars, which challenge a room in this ſection as their proper place: But becauſe I would not have it ſwell too big, I ſhall here part it, and ſpeak further,

SECTION XVI.

Of their Votaries; where of the voluntary and ſharp Penances that People undergo. Of their Lent; and of their Faſts and Feaſts, &c. &c.

AMong the Mahometans, there are many votaries, they call Derviſes, who relinquiſh the world, and ſpend all their days following in ſolitude and retiredneſs, expecting a recompence (as they ſay, and are very well content to ſuffer and wait for it) in that better life. Thoſe very ſharp and very ſtrict penances, which many of this people voluntarily undergo, far exceed all thoſe the Romaniſts boaſt of; for inſtance, there are ſome who live alone upon the tops of hills, (which are cloathed or covered with trees, and

ſtand

ſtand remote from any company) and there ſpend the whole time of their following lives in contemplation, ſtirring not at all from the places they firſt fix on, but *ad requiſita naturæ*, crying out continually in theſe or the like expreſſions, *Alla Acbabar*, &c. that is, God Almighty look upon me, I love thee, I love not the world, but I love thee, and I do all this for thy ſake, look upon me, God Almighty.

Theſe, after they firſt retire, never ſuffer the razor or ſciſſars to come again upon their heads; and they let their nails grow like unto birds claws, as it was written of Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv. when he was driven out from the ſociety of men.

This people, after their retirement, will chooſe rather to famiſh than to ſtir from their cells; and therefore they are relieved by the charity of others, who take care to ſend them ſome very mean covering for their bodies (for it muſt be ſuch, otherwiſe they will not accept of it) when they ſtand in need thereof; and ſomething for their bodily ſuſtenance, which muſt be of their coarſeſt food, otherwiſe they will not take it, and no more of that at one time than what is ſufficient for the preſent ſupport of nature.

Some again impoſe long times of faſting upon themſelves, and will take no food at all, till the ſtrength of nature in them be almoſt quite ſpent.

And others there are amongſt them they call religious men, who wear nothing about them but to hide their ſhame, and theſe (like the mendicant friars) beg for all they eat. They uſually live in the ſkirts or outſides of great cities, or towns, and are like the man our bleſſed Saviour mentions, Luke viii. 27. about the city of the Gadarens, which had Devils, and wore no cloaths, neither abode in any houſe but in the tombs. And ſo do theſe, making little fires in the day, ſleeping at night in the warm aſhes thereof, with which they beſmear and diſcolour their bodies. Theſe Aſh-men will ſometimes take intoxicating things, which make them talk wildly and ſtrangely, (as ſome of our Quakers do in their ſtrange diſtempers) and then the fooliſh common people will flock about them, and (believing they then propheſy) hearken to them with all attention.

A very great difference 'twixt that people and ours, for there they call mad-men prophets, and amongſt us there are many prophets which are accounted but mad-men.

There are another ſort among them, called Mendee, carried on likewiſe by miſtakes, and miſconceiving in religion; who like the prieſts of Baal, mentioned 1 K. xviii. "often cut their fleſh with knives and launcets."

Others again I have there ſeen, who meerly out of devotion put ſuch maſſy fetters of iron upon their legs, as that they can ſcarce ſtir with them; and then, covered with blue mantles,

mantles, (the colour of mourners in thoſe parts) as faſt as they are able go many miles in pilgrimage, bare-foot upon the hot parching ground, to viſit the ſepulchres of their deluding ſaints; thus putting themſelves upon very great hardſhips, and ſubmitting unto extreme ſharp penances, and all to no purpoſe. O what pains will ſuperſtition put men unto! It is ſaid of Idolaters, "that they haſten after another God," Pſ. xvi. 4. or they make poſt haſte after him. The Philiſtines flock'd early, and in troops, to the temple of their Dagon; a ſhame that Chriſtians ſhould go ſingly, and ſlowly, and many times late, (as they do) unto the houſe of God, dealing with religious duties, as ſchool-boys do very often with their leſſons, in minding every thing more than the buſineſs they are about. What pity it is to ſee people ſo induſtrious in their miſ-devotion, in doing things very hard to be done, which God never required at their hands! which may make us to believe, that if they were rightly made acquainted with what God would have them to do, they would be careful in doing it.

Further, it is very ſad to conſider, if we think of many others born in the viſible church of Chriſt, that might be happy, and God's freemen; yet make themſelves the drudges and ſlaves of Satan, who leads them captive at his will: For the works of their father, the Devil, they will do, though never ſo full

of

of trouble and difficulty. "The way of tranſgreſſors is hard." Pr. xiii. 15. Thus the heart ſet upon covetouſneſs diſquiets itſelf in vain; is early up, late at reſt, fares hard, and labours hard, to get a little wealth, and it knows not for whom. So it may be further ſaid of many groſs ſinners, who engage themſelves far and deeply in other ſervices, or rather drudgeries of the Devil, even wearying themſelves to commit iniquity: As of ſtarv'd beggars, who make that a calling, which God makes a curſe, to be fugitives and vagabonds; who are ſo in love with their rags, and ſcabs, and lice, as that they will ſet themſelves in no good way, wherein they might live comfortably. Certainly abundance of theſe, as of others I before named, (their preſent ſtate and condition rightly conſidered) endure two Hells, one here, and the other hereafter.

But to return again to thoſe Indian votaries who undergo ſuch hard things, and out of this groſs miſtake, that they do God good ſervice in the things they do. Concerning which actings, Lucretius (though accounted an Epicurean and an Atheiſt) in his firſt book, ſpeaks to purpoſe about the error of religion.

——— ——— *Sæpius olim*
Religio peperit ſceleroſa atque impia facta.

——— ——— *oft of old,*
Religion bred acts impiouſly bold.

And

And presently after he instances in Iphigenia, sacrificed to Diana by her own father, to procure a wind, for the Grecians more safe and more speedy passage to Troy.

Nam sublata virum manibus tremebundaque ad aras
Deducta est, non ut, solemni more sacrorum
Perfecto, posset claro comitari Hymenæo:
Sed Casta incesta, nubendi tempore in ipso,
Hostia concideret mactatu mœsta Parentis:
Exitus at classi felix faustusque daretur.
Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

For in mens arms borne to the altar, she
Was trembling brought; not with fair rights to be
To famous Hymen led: but the chaste maid,
Now ripe for marriage, foully thus betray'd,
Fell a sad sacrifice by her own sire,
So a safe voyage might the fleet acquire;
To that dire fact perswaded on
By error of Religion.

When Dionysius, the tyrant, had a safe and a prosperous voyage by sea, as he was returning home from the spoil of a rich temple, he presently concluded that the Gods lov'd sacrilege.

Honesta quædam scelera fortuna facit.
Sen. Trag.

Thus good success
Could rapine bless.

Tamerlane,

Tamerlane, the Mogul's great anceſtor (of whom more afterward) might have drawn as good arguments from ſucceſs as ever any before or ſince him. And who is ſo acquainted with the hiſtory of the Turks, as with many other people who have been great in the world, (yet not own'd at all by Almighty God) might from their ſtories draw the like concluſions. But ſuch as have learned Chriſt, and conſequently know better, are taught to conclude better; they having learned of wiſdom to make demonſtrative ſyllogiſms *a priori* from cauſes; and not from folly to make paralogiſms *a poſteriori*, from events and ſucceſſes.

If I enlarge any more on this argument, I muſt further add, that to judge any cauſe good, becauſe the ſucceſs is ſo, is to conclude beſides and againſt the rule of Chriſt, who commands us to judge not according to appearance, but to judge righteous judgement, Joh. vii. 24. for there is very much deceit in appearance.

The appearance, or face, is of things, as of men: *fronti nulla fides* is an old proverb, we ſee men's faces, we cannot ſee their hearts, and therefore there is no certain judgement to be drawn from their countenances. No more can we make a judgement from the face of things, 'till we look further into them; becauſe, *vitia virtutes mentiuntur*, vice too often makes a maſk of the ſkin of virtue, and looks lovely, like ſome houſes of entertainment, that

that have Angels for their ſigns, and Devils for their gueſts.

A man is naturally apt to think that God is with him while he proſpers, though in evil: And 'tis obſerved of wicked men, that they have enjoyed as much, nay more than their hearts could wiſh. The poſterity of Cain, before the flood, were the mighty men, the men of name, the men of renown, the triumphing men in that old world; and ever ſince, that ſpurious race have been the great engroſſers of outward proſperity: "Behold (ſaith the Pſalmiſt, lxxiii. 12.) theſe are the ungodly that proſper in the world;" but many of the mercies they receive, if not all, come out of God's left hand, not in love, but anger; as the mutinous Iſraelites had quails in the wilderneſs, not to feed them, ſo much as to choak them; they being dealt withal herein much like as the old Heathens dealt with their ſacrifices, firſt they fed them, then they crowned them, and then they killed them; the ſubſtance of which I find thus render'd;

Thus beaſts for ſacrifice they feed;
Firſt they are crown'd, and then they bleed.

Thus God advanced and lifted up Pharaoh, not in mercy, but diſpleaſure, that he might firſt ſhew his judgements before him, and then upon him: "Thou haſt lifted me up, and caſt me down;" lifted me up very high, that my fall might be greater.

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It is moſt true, that nothing comes to paſs, neither can be done, without the knowledge and permiſſion of Almighty God: Thus good things are done by his privity, aſſiſtance, and approbation; things that are evil, by his privity, permiſſion, but not liking. The wicked are called the ſword of God, Pſ. xvii. &c. they do his will, in executing his vengeance: So Babylon was called the hammer, and Aſſyria the rod of the Lord: But theſe ſwords, and hammers, and rods, when they have done the ſervice which was appointed for them to do, are thrown into the fire, and meet with greater vengeance afterward, than they had formerly executed. They did the ſecret will of God, in doing what they did; as no doubt but the Devil did in afflicting of Job, in winnowing of Peter, in buffeting of Paul; but his recompence for theſe, and all his other works, is chains under darkneſs, and that for ever and ever. And thus Judas did the will of God, in betraying his innocent maſter, the Son of God; and conſequently furthering the redemption of mankind; but his reward was ſad for ſo doing; his end, perdition.

And therefore, in all our undertakings, we muſt learn wiſely to diſtinguiſh 'twixt God's approving and permitting will; the firſt of theſe muſt limit us in all the things we ſet about, his ſignified, declared, approved will, laid down in his word: We may do the will of God otherwiſe, as it were, againſt his will;

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do the will of God, and have little thanks for our labour in doing things which God permits, but approves not.

It muſt needs be therefore a ſin tranſcendently wicked, for any who know God and his truth, to entitle God and religion unto actions that are evil, by fathering proſperous wickedneſs upon him, as if they did at all countenance ſuch things as religion flatly forbids, and Almighty God profeſſedly abhors.

Religion is the beſt armour in the world, but the worſt cloak; and all they who thus put it on, ſhall, firſt or laſt, find no more comfort in it than Ahab found in the harneſs he put on him as a diſguiſe, as well as for his defence, 1. K. xxii. which he had no ſooner done, but immediately an arrow (though ſhot at random) found a paſſage through the joints thereof, and ſo carried away his life.

But to return again to theſe Mahometans: They keep a ſolemn Lent, they call the Ramjan, or Ramdam, which begins the firſt New-moon which happens in September, and ſo continues during that whole moon. And all that time, thoſe that are ſtrict in their religion forbear their women, and will not take either meat or drink any day during that time, ſo long as the ſun is above their horizon; but after the ſun is ſet they eat at pleaſure. The laſt day of their Ramjan, they conſecrate as a day of mourning, to the memory of their deceaſed friends, when I have obſerved many of

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the meaner ſort ſeem to make moſt bitter lamentation. But when that day of their general mourning is ended, and begins to die into night, they fire an innumerable company of lamps, and other lights, which they hang or fix very thick, and ſet upon the tops of their houſes, and all other moſt conſpicuous places near their great tanks, that are ſurrounded with buildings, where thoſe lights are doubled by their reflection upon the water; and when they are all burnt out, the ceremony is done, and the people take food.

The day after this Ramjan is finally ended, the moſt devout Mahometans, in a ſolemn manner, aſſemble to their moſques, where by their Moolaas ſome ſelected parts of the Alcoran are publickly read unto them, which book the Moolaas never touch without an expreſſion of much outward reverence.

For their works of charity, there are ſome rich men that build Sarraes in great cities and towns (ſpoken of before) where paſſengers may find houſe-room, and that freely, without a return of any recompence, wherein themſelves and goods may be in ſafety.

Others make wells and tanks for the publick benefit, or maintain ſervants, which continually attend upon road ways that are much travelled, and there offer unto paſſengers water for themſelves and beaſts, which water they bring thither in great ſkins, hanging upon the backs of their buffaloes; which, as it is

freely

freely given, ſo it muſt be freely taken, by all thoſe who deſire to refreſh themſelves by it.

There are ſome who build rich monuments, to preſerve the memories of thoſe whom they have eſteemed eminent for their auſterity and holineſs; theſe they call Pæres, or ſaints, amongſt whom ſome of thoſe before mentioned help to fill their number, who ſequeſter themſelves from the world (as they think) and ſpend their life alone upon the tops of hills, or in other obſcure corners.

Now, laſtly, for a cloſe of this ſection:—I ſhall intreat my reader to call to mind, and to take a ſecond and a very ſerious view of the reverence and awe which ſeems (ſo far as eyes can judge) to be in that people; reverence and awe (I ſay) of the Majeſty before whom they appear when they are in their devotions.—Whoſe moſt ſubmiſſive carriage in that duty doth very much condemn infinite numbers of thoſe, who profeſs Chriſt while they are in religious ſervices, ruſhing upon, and continuing in thoſe holy duties, without any ſeeming reverence or regard at all of the dreadful Majeſty before whom they appear; as if God were not, or as if he were not worth the regarding; as if death, and Hell, and judgment, an everlaſting ſeparation from the preſence of God for evermore, were terms merely invented to affright people withal, and as if there were no ſuch places, and no ſuch things.

I confeſs it is true, that external ceremonies, by bowing the body in the performances of religious duties, and the like, may be found in the falſhood of religion; and when a man reſts in theſe alone eaſy performances, it is to compliment with Almighty God, and not to worſhip him; yet as he looks for more than theſe in our humble addreſſes to him, ſo he expects theſe likewiſe; for without all doubt, the moſt ſubmiſſive geſture of the body, in this caſe, may both expreſs and further the piety of the ſoul.

And therefore, though the God of Spirits doth moſt regard the Soul of our devotions, and looks moſt at the Heart, while holy duties are performing; yet it is true likewiſe, that it is not only unmannerly, but moſt irreligious, to be miſgeſtured in them; the careleſs and uncomely carriage of the body, in this caſe, making the ſoul to be prophane, and ſignifying it ſo to be. "To him will I look, even to him, that is poor and of a contrite ſpirit, that trembleth at my words," Iſ. lxvi. 2. I ſhall therefore never be of their mind in this caſe, who think the heart may be devout, when the outward man ſhews no regard.

Sanctâ Sanctè, holy duties muſt be done in an holy manner, great reverence muſt be uſed in them; and therefore, when the hands, knees, mouth, eyes, and tongue, forget to do their offices as they ſhould, they diſcover an ungodly, as well as a negligent heart, that ſhould

ſhould command them to do otherwiſe; for as God will be worſhipped in ſpirit, ſo in the outward man likewiſe; otherwiſe St. Paul might have ſpared that precept, which commands thus, 1 Cor. vi. 20. "Glorify God in your bodies, and in your ſpirit, which are God's;" as if he had ſaid, both are bought with a price, the body redeemed as well as the ſoul; and therefore God looks for and expects reverence from both.

In all our addreſſes to God, he expects at once familiarity and fear; familiarity in the expreſſion of our prayers, for we ſpeak not to an implacable, an inexorable judge, but to a tender father, and there fear and reverence to accompany thoſe expreſſions; hence it is ſaid that "God is greatly to be feared in the aſſembly of his ſaints, and to be had in reverence of all that are about him," Pſ. lxxxix. 7. and "ſerve the Lord in fear, and rejoice with trembling," Pſ. ii. 11. and again, "let all the earth fear the Lord, let all the inhabitants of the world ſtand in awe of him," Pſ. xxxiii. 8. in awe of him at all times, and in all places, but eſpecially there, where he is in a more ſpecial manner preſent, as he hath promiſed to be in his ordinances. "The Lord is in his holy temple" Heb. ii. 20. When Jacob was in his journey to Padan-Aran, he had a viſion in the way, which ſignified and ſhewed unto him nothing but love, mercy, comfort, and peace; yea, he cried out "how dreadful is

this place!" &c. Gen. xxviii. 17. Almighty God is altogether as awful to his own, in his mercies, as he is in his judgments. Great is thy mercy, O Lord, that thou mayeſt be feared, not ſlighted; not neglected, but feared: For to them who have a thorough acquaintance with God, there is no leſs majeſty ſhines in the favours of God, than in his judgments and juſtice; the wicked heart never fears God, but thundering, or ſhaking the earth; never but then, when he appears moſt terrible; but the good can dread him in his ſun-ſhine, when he appears moſt gracious; and ſo they do, and ſo they muſt.

Primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor,—is a ſaying that hath much truth in it, though ſpoken by a Heathen; becauſe the foundation of religion is fear, without which there can be no religion; as Lactantius wiſely argues, ſaying, *quod non metuitur contemnitur, quod contemnitur non colitur*; that which is not feared, is contemned, and that which is contemned cannot be worſhipped; from whence it comes to paſs, that religion and earthly power muſt needs be very much ſupported by fear. Firſt, Religion expreſſed in all our duties to God, "if I be your father, where is my honour? if your maſter, where is my fear?" Mat. i. 6. Secondly, obedience manifeſted in our ſubjection to men, unto the powers here below, whom God hath appointed to bring and to keep men in order, is very much regulated by fear;

fear; for were it not for this prop that holds up government, it would preſently be diſſolved; were it not for this curb to reſtrain men, for that cord to lead ſome, and to compel and bind others, all ſocieties of men would preſently run into diſorder, kingdoms and common-wealths would immediately come to confuſion.

I ſhall conclude this digreſſion with a moſt remarkable example: When Ehud came to Eglon, (though an idolater and a tyrant) and told him that he had a meſſage to him from God, Judg. iii. 20. he aroſe preſently out of his ſeat, or chair of ſtate; and though the unweildineſs of his fat body was ſuch, that he could not ariſe with readineſs and eaſe, yet no ſooner doth he hear news of a meſſage from God, but he riſeth as faſt as he was able from his throne, (that he might not ſhew himſelf unmannerly in the buſineſs of God) and reverently attends to the tenor thereof; though it proved as ſharp a meſſage as could be delivered, or received.

Now, how ſhall thoſe Mahometans before mentioned, and this Heathen man's carriage, condemn thouſands, nay moſt of thoſe which call themſelves Chriſtians, that ſhew no more reverence nor regard at the hearing of meſſages from God, whatſoever they be, than if they heard an old wife's fable; that neither when they ſpeak unto God by the mouth of their miniſters, nor when God ſpeaks to them

by the ſame mouth, ſhew any outward regard, reverence, or reſpect; ſuch an Atheiſm for the generality poſſeſſeth their hearts.— But I return again to that people; and in the next place ſhall ſpeak,

SECTION XVII.

Of the Marriages of the Mahometans, and of their Poligamy, &c.

AMONGST many other things that confirm the Mahometans in their irreligion, this certainly is not the leaſt, the indulgence which Mahomet gives them to take more wives than one, (for they may take four if they pleaſe) and that further promiſe which that monſtrous ſeducer hath made unto his followers, of a fleſhly Paradiſe hereafter, wherein he will provide for them all wives which ſhall have large rolling eyes, which they look upon in that ſex as a great beauty. And it is a very ſuitable comfort for ſuch as walk ſo much after the fleſh.

For Poligamy, or the having of more wives than one, Lamech, a great grand-child of Cain, was the firſt that brought it into the world, Gen. iv. 19. And it was firſt brought into the church by Abraham; which act of his, as of others after him, (good men in their generation) though it found permiſſion, never had

had approbation from Almighty God. And further, though under the times of the law it found ſome connivance, yet ſince the goſpel there hath been no ſuch cuſtom in any of the churches of Chriſt.

And in thoſe former times, it was the charge of Almighty God to the Kings of Iſrael, even before they were, "that they ſhould not multiply wives" Deut. xvii. 17. yet Solomon (who in this diſcovered a great deal of folly, as in other things abundance of wiſdom) went further beyond the bounds of that law than any other whom God owns in ſcripture. The poor man in his later age loſt himſelf amongſt an houſe full of wives; for the ſtory ſaith, "that he loved many ſtrange women," 1 Kin. xi. 1. Every word had nothing but bane in it; he loved women, many women, outlandiſh, idolatrous women, and theſe not only had, but doated on, he being ſo taken with their perſons, that he humour'd them in their ſins: and if one woman in the beginning undid all mankind, it is no great marvel if ſo many women did ſo much miſchief to one Solomon.

The Abiſſins ſay, that when the Queen of Sheba came to viſit Solomon, ſhe returned back with child by him, from whoſe iſſue (they further ſay) have come the race of their Kings ever ſince. But here I leave my reader to believe in that as much and no more than he pleaſe. This is clear in the ſacred ſtory, that Solomon, though he had a

thouſand wives and concubines, he had but three children, Rehoboam his only ſon, and Taphath and Baſmah, his two daughters, 1 K. iv. 11. 15. an evident ſign that God never approved of his multitude of wives, when by his bleſſing on the ſingle and holy wedlock of others, he hath multiplied them in a very happy and numerous iſſue.

In the old world, when the "ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men that they were fair, they took wives of all that they liked" Gen. vi. 2, and theſe multiplied not children ſo much as iniquities.

Sampſon, in the choice of his wife, had no other guides and counſellors but his own eyes. He went down to Timnah, and ſaw a daughter of the Philiſtines, and preſently he ſpeaks to his father, "get her for me to wife, for ſhe pleaſeth me well" Judg. xiv. 1. 2. He who follows nothing but his eyes in the choice of a wife, that marries a beauty, or a face, or a portion, may after find a Philiſtine in his bed, and be as unhappy in his choice as Sampſon was.

Sampſon ſees a woman, (as we will ſuppoſe her beautiful) and as ſoon as ever his eyes fix on her, he muſt preſently have her to wife. Wiſdom and paſſion cannot dwell under one roof, for a man cannot love, nor deſire, nor mourn, nor grieve, nor rejoice, over much, and be wiſe; for when the heart is taken up very much with the latter, there is no room left in it for the former.

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"The King's daughter is all glorious within" Pſal. xlv. 13, and love, that reciprocally ſettles upon this inward beauty, muſt needs be laſting. *Magnes amoris Amor*; love in this caſe is the load-ſtone of love, ſo attractive that it draws love to it, and holds it faſt; when as he who marries a portion, or a face, finds it often otherwiſe. The portion that flies, and the beauty that decays; *tres venunt rugæ. Juv.* the forehead begins to be wrinkled whereon love was firſt ſettled, and in thoſe wrinkles or furrows it is immediately buried.

But yet for all this, as men are generally valued amongſt men by the pound and acre,

——— *Quot poſſidet agri*
Jugera; Juv. Sat. 3.

So in the choice of wives, virgins are uſually thus rated,

Protinus ad cenſum; de moribus ultima fiet
Quæſtio; Juv.

Men commonly aſking the queſtion at the wrong end; as firſt, what hath ſhe? and then, what is ſhe? concerning which a gentleman of this age wrote wittily, but it is good earneſt,

Who wooes a wife for ſtate, or face,
May win a mare, to loſe a race.

The truth is, that many a child hath been caſt away upon riches, and therefore wealth

in

in people's matches ſhould be as ſome grains or ſcruples in a ballance, ſuperadded unto the gold of virtuous qualities, to weigh down the ſcales: For when it is made the ſubſtance of the weight, and good qualities but the appendants, there is one earth poiſed with another; which whenſoever it is done, it is a wonder if either the children prove not the parents ſorrow, or the parents theirs.

It was Balaam's moſt damnable counſel, to make the men of Iſrael wantons by the beauties of Moab, that then they might be ſoon made idolaters; and ſo they were: Numb. xxv. Sin commonly enters in at the eye, and ſo creeps down to the heart; and therefore that ſoul lies open unto very much hazard, when a covenant is not made and kept with the eyes; which if Sampſon had done, he that had ſo much ſtrength, had not diſcovered ſo much weakneſs; and Solomon (whom I before nam'd) ſo much renowned for wiſdom, had not manifeſted ſo much folly, in miſcarrying ſo fearfully by wives, which turned away his heart from God; and therefore when he was come again to himſelf, he freely confeſſeth to all the world, Eccleſ. vii. 28. that he found more bitter than death, the woman, whoſe heart is as ſnares and nets, and her hands as bands; who ſo pleaſeth God ſhall eſcape from her, but the ſinner ſhall be taken by her.

But the Mahometans trouble not themſelves with theſe thoughts; for though ſome of that people,

people, as the ſtrict votaries there, marry not at all, and the Moolaas content themſelves with one wife, and ſo do ſome others; yet they that pleaſe may have four wives, and as many women beſide as they can get and keep, whom they command as wives, and this liberty there is denied to none that will make uſe of it.

I remember that my Lord Ambaſſador had a ſervant of that nation, who deſired leave to be abſent one day, and being aſked why, he told us, that he was then to marry a wife, though he had three living then, which a man would think enough for his means, but five ſhillings a moon, (the uſual pay of ſervants there, as before I obſerved) to maintain himſelf, and all the reſt of his family.

Often have I heard this queſtion put, how theſe Mahometans can do with ſo many wives, ſome of which they keep pent up in little cottages or tents; and in other places and parts of the world, where men's dwellings are very large and ſpacious, there is ſcarce room enough to be found for one wife, in a great houſe.

The Mahometans who have moſt wives and women, are moſt jealous, and their jealouſy ſuch, as that they will not ſuffer the brothers, or fathers of their wives to come to them, or to have any ſpeech with them, except it be in their preſence. And a continued cuſtom by this reſtraint hath made it odious for ſuch women, as have the reputation of honeſty, to be ſeen at any time by any man, beſides their

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own husbands, or by those before named, and by them but very seldom. But if they dishonour their husbands beds, or being unmarried are found incontinent and filthy, professing chastity, rather than they shall want the severest punishment, their own brothers hands will be first against them to take away their lives; and for so doing, shall be commended, but not questioned.

The women there of the greater quality have eunuchs, instead of men, to wait upon them, who in their minority are deprived of all that might provoke jealousy.

Here is a free toleration for harlots, who are enlisted and enrolled (as they say) before they can have liberty to keep such an open house. Which creatures in general there, and so all the world over, whosoever they be, embrace those they pretend to love, as monkies and apes do their little ones, for they kill them with kindness; those base prostitutes are as little asham'd to entertain, as others are openly to frequent their houses.

Other creatures (as they say) are there kept for base and abominable ends, many of those nations being deeply engaged in those sins of the Gentiles, Rom. 1. in doing things which should not be named, and make no scruple at all for their so doing, *ut honeste peccare videantur*, (as Lactantius speaks) as if they might sin honestly.

Some of the finer sort of those base strumpets before named, at certain times appear in

in the preſence of the Mogul, before whom they ſing their wanton ſongs, playing on their timbrels.

The marriages of all the Mahometans are ſolemnized with ſome pomp; for after the Moollaa hath joined their hands, and performed other ceremonies, and beſtowed on the parties ſome words of benediction, (which is done in the evening) immediately after the night coming on, they begin their jollity, the man on horſeback, be he poor or rich, with his kindred and friends about him, many lights before him, with drums and wind inſtruments, and ſome mixt paſtimes to increaſe the merriments. The bride ſhe follows with her women friends in coaches covered; and after they have thus paſſed the moſt eminent places of the city or town they live in, return to the place of the married couple's abode, where (they ſay) if the parties be able they make ſome ſlight entertainment for them; immediately after which they all diſperſe, and the ſhew is over.

Women there have a very great happineſs, above all I have heard of, in their eaſy bringing forth of children into the world; for there it is a thing very common, for women great with child, one day to ride, carrying their infants in their bodies, and the next day to ride again, carring them in their arms.

How thoſe of the greater quality order their little children when they are very young, I could

could not obſerve; but thoſe of the meaner ſort keep them naked for ſome years after they are born, covering them only, and that but ſome times, with ſlight callico mantles.

The Mahometans (as I have before obſerved) who pleaſe ſo to do, may take to themſelves each four wives; and that filthy liberty given unto them by their fleſhly Mahomet, allows them in it. I have heard of ſome in this nation, of late times, who have been married here to more than ſo many at once; but that wickedneſs here is not (as amongſt them) committed by a law, but by a law made capital, and ſo puniſhed.

Yet there are amongſt us, of the greater ſort, (and made ſo by their luxuriant eſtates) which though they take but one wife, whom they marry (they ſay) for convenience, that they may have heirs to inherit (if their ſin conſume not all their patrimony); but ſome of theſe believing the bonds of wedlock too ſtrait, muſt have one other at the leaſt, whom they call a miſtreſs (too good a name for ſuch a creature); and though in this caſe the wife bears the man's name, the proſtitute hath the greateſt ſhare by far of his affection, who will ſometimes ſay that he cannot love his wife, be ſhe never ſo amiable and lovely, and only for this reaſon, becauſe ſhe is his wife; and if ſhe were not ſo, could be at any expence to gain her company. To what an height of wickedneſs can licentiouſneſs raiſe up a man,

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in making him to urge ſuch a relation as a wife (and becauſe a wife) to be the only reaſon of his diſlike, or diſaffection; which ſhould be the firmeſt bond of his love. A ſtrange expreſſion, which cannot poſſibly come out of the mouths of any, but of ſuch who (if they think as they ſpeak) are ſo forward in their journey, as that they are come very near unto the very brink of Hell.

The eldeſt ſon they have by any of their married wives, hath a prerogative above all the reſt, whom their other children call *Budda Bii*, their great brother. And ſo much of the marriages of their children, and of their births: In the next place I ſhall ſpeak,

SECTION XVIII.

Of their Burials; of their Mourning for their Dead; and of their ſtately Sepulchres and Monuments.

FOR the Mahometans, it is their manner to waſh the bodies of their dead before they inter them; An antient cuſtom, as it ſhould ſeem, among the Jews; for it is ſaid of Dorcas, that after ſhe was dead, they waſhed her body, as a preparative to her burial, Act. ix. 7.

They lay up none of the bodies of their dead in their moſques, or churches (as before) but

but in ſome open place in a grave, which they dig very deep and wide; a Jewiſh cuſtom, likewiſe, to carry the bodies of their dead to bury them out of their cities and towns, Luke vii. 12.

Their mourning over their dead is moſt immoderate; for beſides that day of general lamentation, at the end of their Ramjan, or Lent, (before mentioned) they howl and cry many whole days for their friends departed, immediately after they have left the world; and after that time is paſſed over, many fooliſh women, ſo long as they ſurvive, very often in the year, obſerve ſet days to renew their mourning for their deceaſed friends, and as a people without hope, bedew the graves of their huſbands, as of other their near relations, with abundance of (ſeemingly) affectionate tears; as if they were like thoſe mourning women, mention'd Jer. ix. 17. who ſeemed to have tears at command, and therefore were hired to mourn and weep in their ſolemn lamentations.

And when they thus lament over their dead, they will often put this queſtion to their deaf and dead carcaſſes, why they would die? they having ſuch loving wives, ſuch loving friends, and many other comforts; as if it had been in their power to have reſcued themſelves from that moſt impartial wounding hand of death.

Which carriage of theirs deſerves nothing but cenſure and pity; though if it be not thea-

theatrical, we may much wonder at it, and ſay of it, as it was ſaid of the mourning in the floor of Atad, Gen. 50. 11. that it is a grievous mourning; or as the mourning of Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Megiddon, Zech. xii. 11. if we take thoſe lamentations only in a literal ſenſe.

But to ſpeak unto this as a Chriſtian; certainly the Apoſtle, who forbids immoderate mourning for friends departed, 1 Theſ. iv. 13. employs and allows of that mourning which is moderate.

To behold a great funeral, where there are abundance of mourning garments, and no weeping eyes, is not a good ſight; for a man to die as Jehoiakim, (a very bad ſort of an excellent good father) of whom it was ſadly propheſied, that he ſhould die without lamentation; *non plangent eum, Ehèu frater*, they ſhall not lament for him, ſaying, ah my brother! his aſhes ſhall not be moiſtened with one tear; and to be buried as Jehoikam was, with the burial of an aſs, Jer. ii. 18, 19. is very ſad: And doubtleſs it had been better for a man never to have been born, than to live undeſired, and to die unlamented: For a man to run a long race through the world, and to leave no token of good behind him, but to be like an arrow ſhot by a ſtrong arm up into the air, wherein it flies a great circuit, yet immediately after it is fallen, it cannot be diſcern'd that it was ever there; I may ſay of

ſuch a one, that he was born out of due time, or rather that it had been good for him if he had not been born at all.

But now further concerning their places of burial: Many Mahometans of the greateſt quality in their life time provide fair ſepulchres for themſelves and their neareſt friends, compaſſing with a firm wall a good circuit of ground near ſome tank, (before ſpoken of) about which they delight to bury their dead; or elſe they cloſe in a place for this uſe, near ſprings of water, that may make pleaſant fountains, near which they erect little moſques or churches, and near them tombs built round, or four ſquare, or in ſix or eight ſquares, with round vaults, or canopies of ſtone over head; all which are excellently well wrought, and erected upon pillars, or elſe made cloſe, to be entered by doors every way, under which the bodies of their dead be interred; the reſt of that ground, thus circled in, they plant with fruit trees, and further ſet therein all their choiceſt flowers, as if they would make Elyſian fields, (ſuch as the poets dream'd of) wherein their ſouls might take repoſe.

Thus to bury (as it ſhould ſeem) was an antient cuſtom; for it is written of Manaſſeh, King of Judah, that he was buried in the garden of his own houſe; ſo of his ſon Amon, that he was buried in that garden likewiſe, 2 King. 21. 18. and 26 verſes; thus Joſeph of Arimathea had his ſepulchre in his garden, and

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it was well placed there, that when he was in the place of his greateſt delight, his meditations might be ſeaſoned with the thoughts of his death.

There are many goodly monuments, which are richly adorned, built (as before was obſerved) to the memory of ſuch as they have eſteemed Pæres, or ſaints, (of whom they have a large calendar) in which are lamps continually burning, attended by votaries, unto whom they allow penſions for the maintaining of thoſe lights; and many (tranſported there with wild devotion) daily reſort to thoſe monuments, there to contemplate the happineſs thoſe Pæres (as they imagine) now enjoy.

And certainly of all the places that empire affords, there are none that miniſter more delight than ſome of their burying places do; neither do they beſtow ſo much coſt, nor ſhew ſo much ſkill in architecture, in any other ſtructures, as in theſe.

Now amongſt many very fair piles, there dedicated to the remembrance of their dead, the moſt famous one is at Secandra, a village three miles from Agra; it was begun by Achiabar-ſha, the late Mogul's father, (who there lies buried) and finiſhed by his ſon, who ſince was laid up beſide him. The materials of that moſt ſtately ſepulchre are marble of divers colours, the ſtones ſo cloſely cemented together, that it appears to be but one continued ſtone, built high like a pyramid, with

many curioſities about it, and a fair moſque by it; the garden wherein it ſtands very large (as before) and compaſſed about with a wall of marble. This moſt ſumptuous pile of all the ſtructures that vaſt monarchy affords, is moſt admired by ſtrangers. Tom Coryat had a moſt exact view thereof, and ſo have many other Engliſhmen had; all which have ſpoken very great things of it.

And if we here ſtep aſide, to look into other countries and ſtories, we may obſerve much to this purpoſe (though none that I have ever heard of like that I laſt named) where many, whoſe foregoing lives have little deſerved thoſe following remembrances, yet after death have had their bodies lodged in rich monuments, when others of great worth, and moſt deſerved memory, have been very obſcurely buried.

Varro writes of Licinius, or Licinus, but a barber to Auguſtus Cæſar, who getting wealth, was after his death honoured with a fair monument of marble; when grave and wiſe Cato had but a ſmall meer ſtone to cover him, and renowned Pompey had in this kind no remembrance at all; of all whom Varro briefly writes thus:

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo, Pompeius nullo.——

Licinus entomb'd under rich marble ſtone:
Cato a ſmall one had: great Pompey none.

When

When Julius Cæſar had vanquiſhed Ptolemy, and the diſtreſſed King hoped to preſerve his life by flying into a boat, there were ſo many of his ſoldiers which followed him, that they loſt their lives by that very means they hoped to preſerve them; for their too much weight ſunk the boat, and they all, with their moſt unhappy King, were drowned together. Concerning whom, I have what here follows (but a little varied) thus obſerved to my hand.

Mixt with Plebeians there a monarch lies,
The laſt o'th' race of Egypt's Ptolomeys.
Under no covert but the Nile's cold waves:
No pyramids, nor rich Manſolian graves,
Nor arched vaults, whoſe ſtructures do excel;
As his forefathers aſhes proudly dwell:
And dead, as living, do their wealth expreſs,
In ſumptuous tombs, or gorgeous palaces.

This was the fate of the laſt Egyptian monarch: And it is ſad to conſider, that an Egyptian monarch ſhould be buried under water and mud, and a Roman barber covered with marble.

The like hath been the condition of many others, who have deſerved in their generation laſting remembrances in this kind, but have not found them; when others, who have merited nothing at all, have had much ſaid, and (in that reſpect) much done for them after death: And therefore one of this age, very eminent for great parts, writing of a great

man, by place and deſerts, but obſcurely buried; and obſerving rich monuments, ſet off with large and undeſerved encomiums, for others, which deſerved them not, firſt blames

— The flattering ſtone
Which oft' belies the dead, when he is gone.

And after writes further in relation to him before mentioned, thus:

Let ſuch, as fear their riſing, purchaſe vaults,
And ſtatues, only to excuſe their faults.
While thou ſhalt riſe thorough thy eaſy duſt,
At the laſt day; theſe would not, but they muſt:

And truly, if we conſider, and impartially read many hyperbolical expreſſions engraven upon ſome monuments, we may make a pauſe at the two firſt words, which are commonly theſe, *Here lies*, and write them thus, *Hear lies*, and there make a ſtop; becauſe little or nothing that follows hath any truth in it. And therefore, though many great and rich men have their bodies after death covered with ſtately piles, which hold forth many and high commendations of them; yet theſe cannot keep their names from putrifying and rotting as much above ground, as their bodies do under it: "the name of the wicked ſhall rot" Prov. x. 17. "his remembrance ſhall periſh from the earth, and he ſhall have no name in the ſtreet" Job xviii. 17. or if their names

ſurvive,

ſurvive, and be remembered, they ſhall but continue their ſhame, as here lies, or there dwelt, ſuch an oppreſſor, ſuch a cruel, or ſuch a covetous muckworm, or ſuch a filthy or ſuch a prophane and ungodly perſon, or ſuch an intemperate drunken ſot; whom many times ſuch an inſcription would fit, (if it were written over their doors) as Diogenes ſometimes cauſed to be written upon the door of a like intemperate perſon, who had written before that his houſe was to be ſold, under which that cynic wrote thus: "I thought this houſe would ſurfeit ſo long, that it would ſpew out its maſter; for God ſhall take ſuch away, and pluck them out of their dwelling-places, and root them out of the land of the living; or, as the prophet Jeremiah ſpeaks, their dwelling ſhall caſt them out.

But however, they that deſerve true honour, ſhould have it both alive and dead. The memory of the juſt ſhall be bleſſed. Abel was the firſt that ever taſted death, and he died by violence, he died for religion. Oh how early did martyrdom creep into the world! yet Abel, who hath been ſo long dead, yet ſpeaketh. Heb. xi. 4. or the teſtimony which Almighty God gave of that righteous Abel, is yet ſpoken of, and ſo ſhall be, 'till eternity hath ſwallowed up time.

The remembrance of Joſiah is like a compoſition of the perfume that is made by the art of the apothecary, ſweet in all mouths, &c.

and ſo ſhall remain, when ſtately monuments erected to preſerve the memory of others, ſhall be ſo defaced, that it will not appear where they once were.

In a word; all Kings and Potentates of the earth, of what nation ſoever they be, muſt firſt or laſt lay down their ſwords and ſcepters, and trophies, at the gates of death. No earthly King ſhall ever carry his crown further than Simon, the Cyrenian, did the croſs, to Golgotha, to the grave; which narrow compaſs of earth ſhall at laſt put a confinement to all their great thoughts, who have believed (as Alexander ſometime did) the whole world by much too little to bound their deſires.

Unus Pellæo juveni non ſufficit Orbis:
Æſtuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
Ut Gyaræ clauſus ſcopulis, parvaque Seripho.
Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,
Sarcophago contentus erat. Mors ſola fatetur
Quantula ſint hominum corpuſcula. Juv. Sat. 10.

One world the youth of Pella cannot hold,
He ſweats as crouded in this narrow mold.
To cloſe Seriph's and Gyara's rocks confin'd;
But when into the towns, with brick-walls lin'd,
He entered once, there muſt he reſt content
In a ſtrait coffin, and ſlight monument.
For death alone is that which will confeſs,
Though great men's minds, their bodies littleneſs.

Ecce

Ecce vix totam Hercules implevit urnam; behold great and victorious Hercules, the ſubduer of the monſters of the world, when he was dead, and his body reſolved into aſhes, ſcarcely fill'd one earthen pitcher.

Death is the great leveller which cuts down, and then lays all people flat before God. Oh if ſickneſs and death could be brib'd, how rich they would be! this death makes all men to appear as they are men, upon even terms, in the ſight of God. The great men there ſhall not be offered a chair or cuſhion to ſit down, while others ſtand and wait. "I ſaw the dead both ſmall and great ſtand before God" Rev. xxi. 12. "the ſmall and the great are there, and the ſervant is free from his maſter" Job iii. 19. The diſtinction then in that day ſhall not be 'twixt poor and rich, 'twixt mean and mighty, 'twixt them that are nobly born, and thoſe of low parentage; but good, and bad, ſhall be the only terms to diſtinguiſh one man from another, before that great tribunal, when every one, of what degree or condition ſoever he hath been, ſhall receive from the hands of God according to that which he hath done in the fleſh, be it good or evil. When the two cups, the two rewards, the two recompences, ſhall be impartially diſtributed; and none but thoſe which ſhall be found in Chriſt accepted, rewarded: In the mean time, as it is in natural reſt, it is much better to lodge in a very poor, baſe and mean cottage, upon

upon a hard open pallat, and there to have ſweet and quiet ſleep, than in a moſt ſumptuous palace, upon a bed of down, encloſed with the richeſt curtains that coſt can make, and there to have no ſleep at all: So for that reſt which is eternal, it matters not how meanly and baſely the body is laid up, while the ſoul reſts in peace. But if the body be embalmed with all ſweet odours and ſpices, if cheſted in or covered with marble, or with any thing that is richer, and the ſoul all this while in torments, condemned to everlaſting burnings, what comfort can it take? no more, nay not ſo much, as a man who hath a curious crimſon ſilk ſtocking, drawn over a broken, or a gouty and tormenting leg.

For the ſaints departed hence, *non tumulos curant*, when their ſouls are bound up in a bundle of life, and they enjoy the company of all the bleſſed ſpirits made perfect, they care not what becomes of their earthly parts. As before they went into their chambers to undreſs themſelves, ſo now they go down into their graves, to put off their naſty and dirty rags, that when they ariſe thence they may be inveſted with robes that are rich and glorious; well knowing that Chriſt at the laſt day will change their vile bodies, and make them like unto his glorious body. While a man's ſoul is ſafe, it is not to be heeded what becomes of his body; that may be ſlain, but cannot be hurt; as bold and good Ignatius told his perſe-

perſecutor, *occidere potes, lædere non potes,* thou canſt kill me, but thou canſt not hurt me. The good man may be ſtripped of all his temporal riches, but that long enduring ſubſtance laid up for him in the Heavens, is above all his enemies reach. They may be degraded here from all their worldly honours, but not of this honour, to be the ſervants of God. They may be deprived of their lives, but not of their ſalvation. The executioner, that cut off St. Paul's head, could not take away his crown: And therefore, whether they breath forth their lives out of the mouth of the body, or the mouth of a wound, it is all one—*vivit poſt fauera virtus*; the virtuous man outlives his life, and after finds, that there are no ſuch laſting monuments, as to be entomb'd in the hearts of the good, who will be ever ſhewing forth the praiſes of thoſe which have deſerv'd them. And as for earthly monuments, made to continue in the remembrances of the dead,

Quandoquidem data ſunt ipſis quoque fata Sepulchris;

Theſe ſhall have their periods as well as men: and when time ſhall crumble and conſume them all into duſt and forgetfulneſs, the righteous ſhall be had in a laſting, and everlaſting remembrance.

And now, reader, I have done with this, and ſhall proceed to ſpeak more particularly,

SECTION

SECTION XIX.

Of the Hindooes, or Heathens, which inhabit that Empire, &c.

AND for theſe, the firſt that I ſhall take notice of, is, that they agree with others in the world, about the firſt roots of mankind, Adam and Eve; and the firſt of them they call *Babba Adam*, or *Adamah*, father Adam; and the ſecond *Mamma Hava*, mother Eve: And from Adam they call a man Adami.

For Adam they further ſay, that when his wife was tempted to eat the forbidden fruit, ſhe took it and chew'd it, and then ſwallowed it down; but when her huſband was ſwallowing it, the hand of God ſtopt it in his throat; and from hence (they ſay) that every man hath there an hollow bunch, which women have not.

The names they give to diſtinguiſh one man from another, are many, and amongſt them theſe following are very common; as Judda, or Midas, or Cooregee, or Hergee, and the like. Caſturia, and Preſcotta, are women's names amongſt them; but whether theſe, as thoſe names they call their men or women by, are names of ſignification, or only of ſound, I know not.

Thoſe

Thoſe Hindooes are a very laborious and an induſtrious people: theſe are they which till and plant the ground, and breed the cattle; theſe are they which make and ſell thoſe curious manufactures, or the cloth and ſtuff which this empire affords.

This people marry into, and conſequently ſtill keep in their own tribes, ſects, occupations, and profeſſions: For inſtance, all bramins (which are their prieſts, the ſons of all which are prieſts likewiſe) are married to bramins daughters; ſo a merchant's ſon marries a merchant's daughter; and ſo men of ſeveral trades marry to the ſame trade. Thus a coolee (who is a tiller of the ground) marries his ſon to a coolee's daughter; and ſo in all other profeſſions they keep themſelves to their own tribes and trades, not mixing with any other; by which means they never advance themſelves higher than they were at firſt.

They take but one wife, and of her they are not ſo fearful and jealous as the Mahometans are of their ſeveral wives and women, for they ſuffer their wives to go abroad whither they pleaſe. They are married very young, about ſix or ſeven years old, their parents making matches for them; who lay hold of every opportunity to beſtow their children, becauſe confin'd to their own tribes they have not ſuch variety of choice as otherwiſe they might have; and when they attain to the age of thirteen or fourteen, or fifteen years at the moſt, they bed together.

Their

Their marriages are ſolemnized (as thoſe of the Mahometans) with much company, and noiſe; but with this difference, that both the young couple ride openly on horſeback, and for the moſt part they are ſo little, that ſome go on their horſes ſides to hold them up from falling. They are bedeckt, or ſtrew'd all over their cloathing, with the choice flowers of that country, faſtened in order all about their garments.

For their habits, they differ very little from the Mahometans, but are very like them civilly clad; but many of their women wear rings on their toes, and therefore go barefoot. They wear likewiſe broad rings of braſs, or better metal, upon their wriſts and ſmall of their legs, to take off and on.

They have generally (I mean the women) the flaps or tips of their ears bored when they are young; which holes, daily extended and made wider, by things put and kept in them for that purpoſe, at laſt become ſo large, as that they will hold rings, hollowed on the outſide like pullies, for their fleſh to reſt in, that are as broad in their circumference, ſome of them, (I dare ſay) as little ſaucers. But though thoſe faſhions of theirs ſeem very ſtrange at firſt ſight, yet they keep ſo conſtantly to them, as to all their other habits, without any alteration, that their general and continual wearing of them makes them to ſeem leſs ſtrange unto others which behold them.

As

As for their diet, very many of them, as the Banians in general, (which are a very ſtrict ſect) will eat of nothing that hath had, or may have life: and theſe live upon herbs and roots, and bread, milk, butter, cheeſe, and ſweetmeats, of which they have many made very good by reaſon of their great abundance of ſugar: others amongſt them will eat fiſh but of no living thing elſe. The Raſhboots will eat ſwines fleſh, which is moſt hateful to the Mahometans; ſome will eat one kind of fleſh, ſome of another, (of all very ſparingly) but all the Hindooes in general abſtain from beef, out of an high and over-excellent eſteem they have of kine, and therefore give the Mogul yearly, beſides his other exactions, great ſums of money, as a ranſom for theſe creatures; whence it comes to paſs that amongſt other good proviſions, we meet there but with little beef.

As the Mahometans bury, ſo the Hindoos in general (not believing the reſurrection of the fleſh) burn the bodies of their dead near ſome rivers, (if they may with convenience) wherein they ſow their aſhes.

There are another ſect, or ſort of Heathens living amongſt them, called Perſees, which do neither of theſe; of whom, and how they beſtow the bodies of their dead, you ſhall hear afterward.

The widows of theſe Hindoos, (firſt mentioned) ſuch as have lived to keep company with

with their huſbands, for (as before) there is uſually a good ſpace of time twixt their wedding and bedding; The widows (I ſay) who have their huſbands ſeparated from them by death, when they are very young, marry not again; but whether or no this be generally obſerved by them all, I know not; but this I am ſure of, that immediately after their huſbands are dead, they cut their hair, and end all their life following as creatures neglected both by themſelves and others; whence, to be free from ſhame, ſome of them are ambitious to die with honour (as they eſteem it) when their fiery love carries them to the flames (as they think) of martyrdom, moſt willingly following the dead bodies of their huſbands unto the fire, and there embracing, are burnt with them.

A better agreement in death than that of Eteocles and Polynices, the two Theban brothers, of whom it is ſaid, that they were ſuch deadly enemies while they were alive, that after, when both their bodies were burnt together in the ſame fiery pile, the flame parted, and would not mix in one, of which Statius thus:

Nec furiis poſt fata modus; flammæque rebelles
Seditione Rogi. ——— ——— ———

Whoſe rage not death could end; rebellious ire
Inflam'd to civil war their funeral fire.

——— *Nec mors mihi finiit iras.*

Mine

Mine anger with my body ſhall not die,
But with thy ghoſt, my ghoſt ſhall battle try.

But thoſe, which before I named, agree ſo well in life, that they will not be divided by death, where their flames unite together: And although the woman, who thus burns with her huſband, doth this voluntarily, not by any compulſion, (for the love of every widow there is not thus fired) and though the poor creature, who thus dies, may return and live if ſhe pleaſe, even then when ſhe comes to the pile, which immediately after turns her into aſhes; yet ſhe who is once thus reſolved, never ſtarts back from her firſt firm and ſettled reſolution, but goes on ſinging to her death, having taken ſome intoxicating thing to turn or diſturb her brains; and when come to the place where ſhe will needs die, ſhe ſettles herſelf preſently in the midſt of that combuſtable ſubſtance provided to diſpatch her; which fuel is placed in a round ſhallow trench, about two feet deep, made for that purpoſe near ſome river, or other water, (as before) and though ſhe have no bonds but her own ſtrong affections to tie her unto thoſe flames, yet ſhe never offers to ſtir out of them. But

Her breathleſs huſband then ſhe takes
In folded arms; this done, ſhe makes
Her humble ſuit to th' flames to give
Her quick diſpatch; ſhe cannot live,

Her honour dead. Her friends there come,
Look on, as if 'twere martyrdom;
And with content are hither led,
As once to view her marriage bed.

And thus, ſhe being joyfully accompanied unto the place of her dying, by her parents and other friends; and when all is fitted for this helliſh ſacrifice, and the fire begins to burn, all which are there preſent, ſhout, and make a continued noiſe ſo long as they obſerve her to ſtir, that the ſcreeches of that poor tortured creature may not be heard. Not much unlike the cuſtom of the Ammonites; who, when they made their children paſs through the fire to Molech, cauſed certain tabrets or drums to ſound, that their cries might not be heard; whence the place was called Tophet, 2 Kings, xxiii. 10. which ſignifies a drum, or tabret.

Now, after their bodies are quite conſumed, and lie mixed together in aſhes, and thoſe aſhes begin to grow cold, ſome of them are gathered up by their neareſt friends, and kept by them as choice relicks; the reſt are immediately ſown by the ſtanders by upon the adjacent river, or water.

Alas poor wretches! what a hard maſter do they ſerve, who puts them upon ſuch unreaſonable ſervices in the flower of their youth and ſtrength, thus to become their own executioners; to burn their own bones when they

are

are full of marrow, and to roaſt their own breaſts, when they are full of milk. Now Almighty God requires no ſuch thing at his people's hands, and therefore it is by far the more ſtrange to conſider that the Devil ſhould have ſuch an abundance of ſervants in the world, and God ſo few.

But for thoſe poor ſilly ſouls, who ſing themſelves into the extremity of miſery, and thus madly go out of the world, through one fire into another, through flames that will not laſt long, into everlaſting burning, and do it not out of neceſſity, but choice, led hereunto by their tempter and murderer, and conſequently become ſo injurious and mercileſs to themſelves; certainly they deſerve much pity from others, who know not how to pity themſelves: For, *nemo miſerius miſero non miſeranti ſeipſum*; there are none ſo cruel as thoſe which are cruel and pitileſs to themſelves. But though (I ſay) there are ſome which thus throw away their own lives, yet if we conſider thoſe Hindoos in general, we may further take notice,

SECTION XX.

Of the Tenderneſs of that People, in preſerving the Lives of all other inferior Creatures, &c.

FOR they will not (if they can help it by any means) take, but on the contrary do what they can to preſerve the lives of all in-

ferior creatures; whence (as before I told you) they give large ſums of money to preſerve the lives of their kine (a reaſon for this you ſhall have afterward); and I have often obſerved, that when our Engliſh boys there have out of wantonneſs been killing of flies, (there ſwarming in abundance) they would be very much troubled at it, and if they could not perſuade them to ſuffer thoſe poor creatures to live, they would give them money, or ſomething elſe, to forbear that (as they conceived) cruelty.

As for themſelves (I mean a very great number of them) they will not deprive the moſt uſeleſs, and moſt offenſive creatures of life, not ſnakes, and other venomous things that may kill them; ſaying, that it is their nature to do hurts, and they cannot help it; but as for themſelves, they further ſay, that God hath given them reaſon to ſhun thoſe creatures, but not liberty to deſtroy them.

And in order to this their conceit, the Banians (who are the moſt tender hearted in this caſe of all that people) have ſpittles (as they ſay) on purpoſe to recover lame birds and beaſts.

Some ground for this their tenderneſs happily proceeds from this conſideration, that they cannot give life to the meaneſt of the ſenſible creatures, and therefore think that they may not take the lives of any of them; for the pooreſt worm which crawleth upon the face

of

of the earth, *tam vita vivit, quam Angelus*, (as one of the ancients ſpeaks) live for the preſent as much as the Angels, and cannot be willing to part with that life, and therefore they imagine that it is moſt injurious by violence to take it.

But (as I conceive) the moſt principal cauſe why they thus forbear to take the lives of inferior creatures, proceeds from their obedience unto a precept given them by one of their principal, and moſt highly eſteemed prophets and law-givers, they call Bremaw; others they have in very high eſteem; and the name of one of them is Ram, of another Permiſſar. I am ignorant of the names of others, and I conceive that my reader will not much care to know them. But from him they call Bremaw, they have received (as they ſay) many precepts, which they are careful to obſerve, and the firſt of them this:

"Thou ſhalt not kill any living creature, whatſoever it be, having life in the ſame, for thou art a creature, and ſo is it; thou art indued with life, and ſo is it; thou ſhalt not therefore ſpill the life of any of thy fellow creatures that live."

Other precepts (they ſay) were delivered unto them by their law-giver about their devotions, in their watchings and worſhippings; where they are commanded,

"To obſerve times for faſting, and hours for watching, that they may be the better fitted for them."

Other directions they have about their feſtivals; wherein they are required,

"To take their food moderately, in not pampering their bodies."

Concerning Charity, they are further commanded,

"To help the poor as far as they are poſſibly able."

Other precepts (they ſay) were given them likewiſe in charge; as,

"Not to tell falſe tales, nor to utter any thing that is untrue.

"Not to ſteal any thing from others, be it never ſo little.

"Not to defraud any by their cunning, in bargains or contracts.

"Not to oppreſs any, when they have power to do it."

Now all thoſe particulars are obſerved by them with much ſtrictneſs; and ſome of them are very good, having the impreſſion of God upon them; but that ſcruple they make in forbearing the lives of the creatures made for men's uſe, ſhews how that they have their dwelling in the dark, which makes them, by reaſon of their blindneſs, to deny unto themſelves that liberty and ſovereignty which Almighty God hath given unto man over the beaſts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fiſhes of the ſea, appointed for his food, given unto him for his ſervice and his ſuſtenance, to ſerve him, and to feed him, but not to make havoc and ſpoil of them.

How-

However, the tenderneſs of that people over inferior creatures ſhall one day riſe up in judgment againſt all thoſe who make no ſcruple at all in taking the lives, not of ſenſible creatures, but men, not legally to ſatisfy good and known laws, but violently to pleaſe their cruel and barbarous luſts.

Hiſtories are fill'd with many inhuman and ſtrange examples of this kind: Valerius writes of Lucius Sylla, (whoſe cruelty and thirſt after blood made him a monſter of mankind, a very prodigy of nature) that when he had cauſed ſome thouſands of men to be put to death, or (more properly) to be murdered in one day, he preſently gave command that this monſtrous fact of his ſhould be recorded, leſt the memory of ſo honourable an action (for ſo he call'd it) might be forgotten.

He kill'd a gentleman of Rome at the ſame time, for not enduring the ſight of an innocent man of quality, whom he ſaw cauſeleſsly murdered. Never, (ſaith the author) was it heard of before, that pity ſhould be puniſhed, and that it ſhould be thought a capital offence to behold a murder with grief.

For that Sylla, it might have been ſaid of him as it was afterwards of Nero, that he was a creature made up of dirt and blood, a monſter ſet upon miſchief; who had ſo much malice and cruelty in his nature, (as any other may have left in his blood) that Valerius writes thus further of him, *Ut in dubio eſſet Sylla ne prior,*

prior, an iracundia Syllæ ſit extincta, that it was a queſtion whether himſelf or anger were firſt extinguiſhed; moſt ſtrange and turbulent perturbations and ſtorms of anger, malice and miſchief, *quandò ira mortalium debet eſſe mortalis,* (as Lactantius well ſpake) when the anger of mortal men ſhould be mortal like themſelves.

And ſo moſt barbarous and cruel are all they, whatſoever they be, who have their hearts ſo bound and confirm'd as it were with ſinews of iron, that they delight in nothing ſo much as in the ſlaughter of men, whatſoever they be, whether ſtrangers or brethren, and then make their boaſts and brags; I have knock'd ſo many on the head, ſaith one, and I have kill'd ſo many, ſaith another, and I ſo many, ſaith a third; and others ſo many, and ſo many; which clearly ſhews, that they are children of their father the Devil, who was a murderer from the beginning; for his language is ever in their mouths, *ure, ſeca, occide,* burn, cut, kill, do execution, and take no pity; ſpare not, ſpare none, whether ſtrangers or known perſons, old or young, men, women, children, brethren, or whoſoever elſe comes and croſſeth them in their way, as it was in the days of that monſtrous Sylla before named, when

Grey-heads, young orphans, virgins, pregnant wives,
All died: 'twas crime enough that they had lives.

That

That empreſs was of a far better mind, who wiſely advertiſed her huſband, ſitting and playing at tables, and minding his game more than the priſoners before him, on whom he pronounced the ſentence of death: his wife, I ſay, thus ſpake unto him, as Ælian reports, *Non eſt vita hominum talorum ludus, &c.* the life of man is not as a game at tables, where a wooden man is taken away by a blot, and thrown aſide, and after taken again into the play, and there is no hurt done; but the life of a living man, once loſt, is irrecoverable.

When Vedius Pollio, a Roman, at a ſupper provided for Auguſtus the emperor, would have drowned his ſervant, becauſe he had broken a cup of chryſtal, the emperor (though a Heathen) with-held him, and controuled him in theſe words, (as Plutarch reports) ſaying, *Homo cujuſcunque conditionis quatenus homo, &c.* a man of what condition ſoever he be, if for no other cauſe, yet becauſe he is a man, is more to be valued than all the chryſtal cups in the world: and doubtleſs, he deſerves not the name of a man, who knows not how to value a man.

But how is mankind in theſe laſt ages of the world become degenerate, and wild from that which nature firſt ſhaped it unto; for man was made in the beginning to man, as Moſes was made to Aaron, Ex. iv. 16. in ſome ſenſe a God, for ſuccour and comfort: but how contrary to this rule do moſt men walk;

ſo

ſo that we may juſtly complain with that noble and virtuous Frenchman, Philip Morney, ſaying, what is more rare amongſt men, than to find a man? that is, as he interprets himſelf, amongſt men how many beaſts are there, for the want of the uſe of reaſon; or for not uſing reaſon well, how many Devils? Lions, ſaith Pliny, fight not againſt lions, ſerpents bite not ſerpents, but the moſt miſchief man ſuſtains, comes from man.

Thou art deceived, ſaith Seneca, if thou giveſt credit unto the looks of thoſe that meet thee, who have the faces of men, but the qualities of wild beaſts. Some like the crocodiles of Nilus, that can flatter and betray, weep and murder, cry and kill. Oh how hath mankind, in theſe later ages, juſtified the madneſs of the moſt ſavage and untractable beaſts, and ſteel'd their affections with more cruelty than ever lions or ſerpents could learn in the wilderneſs.

But certainly that crying clamouring ſin of blood, or murder, unleſs it be waſhed away with a flood of tears, iſſuing from a bleeding and a broken heart, and dy'd into another colour by the blood of Chriſt, will in concluſion bring woe and miſery enough upon them that ſhed it: For there was never any drop of innocent blood ſpilt upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to this preſent hour, or that ſhall be ſhed ſo long as there are men and malice, and miſchief in the world,

but

but it ſwells as big as the ocean ſea in the eyes of God, and cannot be waſhed away by all the waters therein: and further, neither the heat of the ſun, nor the duſt of the ground, ſhall ever be able to dry it up, 'till it be either avenged or pardoned; unleſs the earth and the heavens, and all that are therein, can be bribed to keep ſilence, and to take no notice thereof.

Without all doubt, when God ſhall make inquiſition for blood, he will remember; for he that bottles up the tears of his poor people, cannot forget their blood: whence it comes to paſs, by the righteous judgment of Almighty God, that thoſe who delight in blood, have uſually enough of it before they die; or if blood do not touch blood for the preſent, it will deny a man all peace after the fact committed. "Had Zimri peace, who ſlew his maſter?" 2 King. ix. 31. No, he had no peace, no more have any guilty of that ſin, if their conſciences be not for the preſent hoof'd over; if the mouth of them be not for the preſent bung'd up. But as it was in that firſt plague of Egypt, wherein Pharaoh and the Egyptians were ſmitten, all the waters in their rivers, ponds, and pools, as in their veſſels of wood and ſtone, were changed into blood: ſo in the mind and conſcience of a murderer, there uſually remains a plague of blood; his eyes ſhall behold no other colour but ſanguine, as if the air were dy'd into it:

the

the viſions of his head in the night ſhall caſt a bowl of blood in his face; all the cogitations and thoughts of his heart ſhall overflow with the remembrance of that blood he hath ſpilt: the conſideration of which, methinks, ſhould be enough to trouble and affright men that lie under the guilt of this ſin, if they fear either guilt or conſcience, which will firſt or laſt fly in their faces.

Plutarch writing *de ſerâ numinis vindictâ* of the late but ſure revenges executed upon men by divine juſtice, hath this ſtory of the Delphians, who made no ſcruple to murder Æſop amongſt them; but after this, when they were moſt grievouſly plagued by variety of heavy judgments, they who had imbrued their hands in his blood, walked up and down in all the public aſſemblies of Greece, and cauſed this to be proclaimed by noiſe of criers, that whoſoever would, ſhould be avenged on them for Æſop's death: they believing themſelves the procurers of thoſe plagues which were then upon them. *Deus patiens redditor*, God is a patient rewarder, whoſe revenges are ſlow, but ſure. *Fortis eſt Deus, Deus retributionum*, Jer. li. 56. the Lord God of recompences ſhall ſurely requite, who is many times long before he ſtrike, but *tarditatem ſupplicii gravitate compenſat*, the ſeverity of his juſtice ſhall at laſt make a full amends for the flowneſs thereof.

'Tis ſad to conſider that Heathens (as before was obſerved) ſhould have ſo much tender-

neſs

neſs in their nature, and any bearing the names of Chriſtians ſo much cruelty: that Heathens ſhould make ſo much ſcruple in taking away the lives of baſe inferior creatures, of thoſe which are not only uſeleſs, but offenſive; and men, called Chriſtians, ſo forward by ways of violence, to cut off the lives of men, never enquiring into the juſtneſs of the quarrel, but the rate of the pay, and (as if their own lives, and the blood of others were not worth the valuing) will adventure to kill, or be kill'd, for a day's wages. Thus making havoc of men as fearfully made, as dearly redeemed, as tenderly cheriſhed, and brought up as themſelves; yet *occidendi cauſa occidunt*, they kill, becauſe they take pleaſure in killing, and are no more troubled at the death of a man, than if a dog had fallen before them.

'Tis true, that lions will tear, and dogs will bark and bite, and ſerpents will ſting, becauſe it is in their nature ſo to do; yet men, Chriſtians, muſt do otherwiſe, and not make the ſlaughters of men, of multitudes of people profeſſing Chriſt, delightful arguments of their ordinary diſcourſe, or table talk; as if it were a relation that had pleaſure in it; as if there were no difference 'twixt the cutting down of men, and the mowing of ſtraw and ſtubble.

I confeſs, that when men have an immediate commiſſion from God, to execute vengeance on thoſe he would have deſtroyed, they may

may do execution with boldneſs, without pity or regret: for it is as great a fault to ſpare when God bids deſtroy (for he wrongs the innocent, who ſpares the guilty, for which very thing Saul pays dear, 1 Sam. 15.) as to deſtroy when God bids ſpare. The Iſraelites had ſuch a commiſſion often granted, and renewed, for the rooting out of thoſe nations, which God would have grubbed up root and branch, and then they were to deſtroy without pity. But afterward that people, becauſe they did ſo much abuſe their proſperity and ſucceſs, and after both their peace, they periſh themſelves by the ſword of war. Jeruſalem had many warnings, but would not take them, before the woe took hold of it. And therefore, after all thoſe monitions, Titus, the ſon of Veſpaſian the Emperor, was made inſtrumental to fulfil thoſe many propheſies, which threatened Jeruſalem's final overthrow. But that commander, and conqueror, though a ſtranger, an adverſary, and a profeſt enemy to the Jews, and ſent to deſtroy them, when he ſaw (as Joſephus reports) the ſpoil and ſlaughter which fell upon that woeful and moſt miſerable city, he calls his Gods to witneſs that he was exceedingly troubled at it. "He that is glad at calamity, ſhall not be unpuniſhed" Prov. xvii. 5. And if an Heathen, a foreign enemy, ſent to deſtroy, could take no pleaſure in executing of puniſhment, though upon enemies, but the contrary;

trary; men which enjoy the light, ſhould be by much more troubled, in the beholding of ſlaughters, which happen among themſelves or brethren: and therefore Tully, writing to Atticus, ſpeaks exceeding wiſely in telling him thus, *extremum eſt malorum omnium belli civilis victoria*; his reaſon, becauſe men having done much miſchief already in thoſe unnatural engagements, are fleſht and heartened to go on, and to do more miſchief ſtill. Hence it was that the very Heathens were not wont to make any triumphs for victories gained in their civil wars, as Lucan ſpeaks;

Bella geri placuit nullos habitura Triumphos.

And there is much to this purpoſe, in that ſad, but very remarkable ſtory of the Iſraelites and Benjamites, as we may obſerve in the book of Judges, ch. 20. and 21. Some Benjamites there at Gebiah had committed an abominable wickedneſs; the reſt of that tribe, inſtead of puniſhing, did patroniſe it, and choſe rather to die in the reſiſting of juſtice, than live and proſper in the furthering thereof.

It is one of the mad principles of wickedneſs, that when men have once reſolved to do a thing, be it never ſo bad, and to ſay they will do it, it is a very great weakneſs to relent; therefore they will chooſe to ſuffer, to die rather than yield, or go back from their reſolutions; thinking that cauſes, whatſoever they be, when they are once undertaken, muſt

be

be upheld, although with blood. And from this falſe ground, the Benjamites put themſelves in arms, and were champions to defend the lewdneſs of their brethren, and made themſelves worſe by the abetting of a monſtrous ſin, than the others were by the commiſſion thereof: becauſe the laſt was done upon reſolution, and ſo probably was not the other. Now that no man may conclude a cauſe therefore good, becauſe the ſucceſs is ſo; the tribes of Iſrael that went againſt the Benjamites had by far the better of the cauſe; but the Benjamites for the preſent the better in their ſucceſs; for the wickedneſs of Benjamin ſped better for a time than the honeſty of Iſrael: twice was the better part foiled by the leſs and worſe, the good cauſe was ſent back with ſhame, the evil returned with victory and triumph. But wickedneſs could never brag of any long proſperity, the triumph of wickedneſs is ſhort: and wickedneſs cannot complain of the lack of payment, for ſtill God is even with it at the laſt, as we may obſerve in the ſtory of thoſe Benjamites, who in concluſion were made to pay extremely dear for their ſin. In whoſe example we may take notice, that the retaliations of the Lord are ſure and juſt. But after all this, when the reſt of the tribes of Iſrael (being ſo highly provoked) had ſlain ſuch a very great number of the Benjamites, almoſt to the utter ruin of their tribe, for acting and abetting ſuch a monſtrous wickedneſs;

obſerve

obſerve how the reſt of Iſrael behaved themſelves towards their brethren; they did not rejoice and make triumphs for that their victory, but they weep over their dead bodies, Judg. 21. 2. and ſtudy how that breach among the Benjamites (which their ſin and provocation had enforced the reſt of Iſrael to make) might be made up again.

The prophet Oded gave good counſel, in a caſe which was ſomething parallel to this, and it was well followed, 2 Chr. 28. for when they of Samaria had taken a very great number of their brethren of Judah and Jeruſalem captives, two hundred thouſand, and much ſpoil, and were carrying it and them into Samaria, the prophet, I ſay, gave this counſel, that they ſhould not ſtrip and ſtarve, but put cloathing on their loins, and ſhoes on their feet, and meat and drink in their bellies, and ſend them home again; and ſo they did.

There are very many who walk quite contrary to theſe rules, and dare do as thoſe wicked ones, mentioned in the ſecond chapter of the book of Wiſdom, ſaying "let us oppreſs, and let our ſtrength be the rule of juſtice; as if there were no power, either in earth or heaven, to contradict them. But however, let others, who obſerve the courſes of God's providence, and withal ſee the oppreſſion of the poor, and the violent perverting of judgement and juſtice in a province, not marvel at the matter; for he that is higher than the higheſt regardeth, and there be higher than they.

In that parable, Luke xvi. dogs are mentioned, and why ſo? that their tongues might condemn the mercileſs bowels of their maſter, who ſhewed pity in their kind, when their maſter had no compaſſion on the poor lazar; he not conſidering that there is a mercy, a pity, and a care, due to the moſt deſpicable piece of humanity. *Fruſtra miſericordiam petit, qui miſericordiam non facit*; in vain ſhall they one day hope for mercy and pity, that will not now exerciſe it.

Undoubtedly, there is nothing becomes power and greatneſs better than bowels and inwards of pity and mercy. Theſe make the faces of men in power to ſhine, and themſelves to reſemble God, who is moſt properly called *optimum maximum*, firſt by the name of his goodneſs, and then by the name of his greatneſs; firſt by the name of his mercy, and then by the name of his might.

But the ignorance of thoſe Indians, before ſpoken of, makes them more pitiful than they need to be: and if they had knowledge to make doubt of, and to ſcruple other things as they ſhould, I might have ſpared my next ſection, which will acquaint my reader, by telling him further,

SECTION

SECTION XXI.

Of other ſtrange and groundleſs, and very groſs Opinions, proceeding from the blackneſs and darkneſs of Ignorance in that People.

ALL error in the world proceeds either from ignorance, commonly joined with pride, or elſe from wilfulneſs. This is moſt true as in natural and moral, ſo in ſpiritual things. For as knowledge ſoftens and ſweetens mens manners, ſo it enricheth their minds; which knowledge is certainly a moſt divine, a very excellent thing, otherwiſe our firſt parents would never have been ſo ambitious of it. This makes a man here to live twice, or to enjoy here a double life, in reſpect of him that wants it. But for this knowledge, it certainly muſt be eſteemed better, or worſe, by how much the object of this knowledge is worſe, or better. Now the firſt object of this knowledge, is a right underſtanding, and knowledge of the true God, which that people wants.

For there is *ſcientia contriſtans* (as Bernard ſpeaks) a ſad, an unquiet, an unpeaceable, and an unſatisfying knowledge; as to know there is a God, (for ſo this people do) and to be ignorant (as this people, and millions more are) to ſerve him aright, and how to make

him their God: as for men to know that they are ſinners, and not to know this unto amendment of life: as to know that there is a heaven, and not to know how to attain it: as to know that there is a hell, and not to know how to avoid it. And more particularly, for ſuch as profeſs Chriſt, to know that Jeſus Chriſt died for ſinners, and to be ignorant how to apply a plaſter of his blood and merits unto the hurts of their poor wounded ſouls; and further, though knowledge be ſo excellent, for any to ſeek after the tree of knowledge, more than the tree of life, is a moſt uncomfortable ſearch.

Now touching this people, they are altogether ignorant of God, as they ought to know him; and they have no learning amongſt them, but as much as enables them to write, and to read what they have written; and they having no inſight into the reaſons and cauſes of things, (I mean the ruder ſort, both of the Mahometans and Gentiles) when they obſerve things which are not very ordinary, as when they ſee any eclipſes, but eſpecially of the moon, (haply ſome of them ſacrificing to her, and calling her the Queen of Heaven, as thoſe idolaters did, Jer. xliv. 18) they make a very great ſtir and noiſe, bemoaning her much, which helps, as they conceive, to free and bring her out of it. Juvenal obſerving that cuſtom, which appears to be a very antient one among the Heathens, reproves a very brawling,

brawling, clamorous woman, in his ſixth ſatyr, thus:

Una, laboranti poterit ſuccurrere Lunæ.

That ſhe made noiſe enough to deliver the moon out of an eclipſe.

Their ignorance in this, as in many-many other things, is much to be pitied; as the knowledge and learning of many others; which, by their not improving of it, is to them as the letter which Uriah ſometimes carried againſt himſelf; it condemns the bearer.

But though the Hindoos, or Heathens there, have no learning, yet they want not opinions; for their divided hearts are diſtracted into fourſcore and four ſeveral ſects, each differing from others very much in opinion about their irreligion; which might fill a man even full of wonder, that doth not conſider, how that Satan, who is the author of diviſion, is the ſeducer of them all.

Thoſe many ſects, as I conceive among them, conſiſt of people there of ſeveral trades, occupations, and conditions of life; which ſeveral ſorts of people, as before I obſerved, marry into their own tribes, and ſo unite and keep together amongſt themſelves, that they have not much correſpondency with any other people. Theſe, without doubt, have ſeveral ways of worſhip within themſelves, which makes them ſo ſeparate from others, as that they will not eat with any, but thoſe of their own tribes.

For Heathens, that have neither light nor guide, to be thus divided, and to live in darkneſs, hath not ſo much wonder in it; but for Chriſtians, who have been in the valley of viſions, thus to ſeparate, miniſters matter of wonder or pity, nay of both. And for us of this nation, if we ſtill continue to multiply opinions in religion, as we have begun (which God forbid) we ſhall enlarge the proverb, that if a man have loſt his religion, and cannot find it, either in Poland, nor yet in Amſterdam, let him ſeek for it in England.

The illiterate prieſts of all that people, for the generality of them, are called Bramins, who derive themſelves from Bramon, who, they ſay, was one of the firſt men that inhabited the world; and after the ſin of that firſt world brought the flood, the race of that Bramon (whoſe very name they highly reverence) was continued in Bremaw, who, as they ſay, outlived that deluge, and is honoured by them likewiſe as one of their great prophets and lawgivers.

Thoſe Bramins (as I conceive) are they, which the ancient ſtories call Brachmanes, but with this difference, that thoſe Brachmanes were accounted learned men, for the learning of thoſe times wherein they lived: but theſe Bramins are a very ſilly, ſottiſh, and an ignorant ſort of people, who are ſo inconſtant in their principles, as that they ſcarce know what the particulars are which they hold, and maintain as truths.

As

As anciently among the Jews, the prieſthood is hereditary; for all thoſe Bramins ſons are prieſts, and they all take the daughters of Bramins to be their wives: of which ſomething before.

They have little churches, they call Pagods, ſtanding near, or under their green trees, built round: but as the antient Brachmanes were ſaid not to endure, theſe on the contrary have images in their pagods, made in monſtrous ſhapes; but for what end they have them, I know not.

Now, from the manner of thoſe Heathens, which I believe hath been for many-many years retained in their idolatrous worſhips, I conceive that the Jews long ago borrowed that unwarrantable cuſtom of worſhipping God in groves, or under green trees.

Both men and women, before they go to their devotions, (which are frequently performed) waſh their bodies, and keep off all their cloaths, but the covering of modeſty, 'till they have done; led thereto by a precept, (as they ſay) commanded them to be perform'd by their law-giver Bremaw; which requires them daily to obſerve their times of devotion expreſſed by their waſhings, worſhippings, and prayer to God; which muſt be all done with purity of hearts.

And it is the manner of this people, before they take their food to waſh their bodies, then (which I much obſerved while we lived

in tents) they make a little circle upon the ground, which they ſeem to conſecrate; after which they ſit down within that compaſs, and eat what they have provided; and if any come within that circle, before they have ended their meal, they preſently quit the place, and leave their food behind them.

That outward waſhing, as theſe people think, avails very much to their cleanſing from ſin: not unlike the Phariſees, who were all for the outſide of religion, and would not eat with unwaſhed hands, Mark vii. 2. unleſs they waſhed themſelves up to the elbows, as Theophilact obſerves. Hence thoſe Hindoos aſcribe a certain divinity to rivers, but above all to the famous river Ganges, whither they flock daily in troops, that there they may waſh themſelves; and the nearer they can come to the head of that river, the more virtue they believe is in the water. After they have thus waſhed, they throw pieces of gold or ſilver (according to their devotion and ability) into that river, and ſo depart from it.

Thus, reader, thou haſt ſomewhat of the carriages of this people in life. Now after death ſome of them talk of Elyſian fields (ſuch as the poets dream'd of) to which their ſouls muſt paſs over a Stix, or Acheron, and there take new bodies. Others of them think, that ere long the world will have an end, after which they ſhall live here again on a new earth. Some other wild conceivings of this people follow afterward.

Some

Some Bramins have told me that they acknowledge one God, whom they deſcribe with a thouſand eyes, with a thouſand hands, and as many feet, that thereby they may expreſs his power, as being all eye to ſee, all foot to follow, and all hand to ſmite offenders. The conſideration whereof makes that people very exact in the performances of all moral duties; following cloſe the light of nature, in their dealings with men; moſt carefully obſerving that royal law, in doing nothing to others, but what they would be well contented to ſuffer from others.

Thoſe Bramins talk of two books, which not long after the creation, when the world began to be peopled, they ſay, were delivered by almighty God to Bramon, before ſpoken of; one of which books, they ſay, containing very high, ſecret, and myſterious things, was ſealed up, and might not be opened; the other to be read, but only by the Bramins, or prieſts. And this book, thus to be read, came after, as they further ſay, into the hands of Bremaw, (of whom likewiſe ſomething before) and by him it was communicated unto Ram, and Permiſſar, two other fam'd prophets amongſt them, which thoſe Heathens do likewiſe exceedingly magnify, as they do ſome others, whoſe names I have not. Now that book which they call the Sheſter, or the book of their written word, hath been tranſcribed in all ages ever ſince by the Bramins,

out

out of which they deliver precepts unto the people.

They ſay that there are ſeven orbs, above which is the ſeat of God, and that God knows not ſmall and petty things, and if he do, regards them not.

There have been philoſophers of the like mind, who madly thought that almighty God had no regard of human affairs. For which very thing Tully, though an Heathen, doth moſt highly condemn them.

The Peripateticks houſed the providence of God above the Moon, and thought that it had no deſcent beneath the circle thereof, to intend inferior things and buſineſſes.

The Atheiſts in the Pſalm, who ſay that there is no God, infer from hence, how can God ſee? what do the Epicures in Job ſay leſs; or Eliphaz, ſpeaking in their names, Job xxii. "how can God know? can he judge through the dark clouds? the clouds hide him that he cannot ſee"; and chap. xxiv. 14. 15. he brings in the murderer and adulterer, acting their parts with much boldneſs, confidence, and preſumption, and upon this falſe ground, that no eyes ſee them; for if they did believe the contrary, then certainly they would not dare to do what they do; which ſhews that there is a very Atheiſm in the hearts of moſt men, which makes them not afraid to do that in the preſence of an all-ſeeing God, which for fear, or ſhame, they durſt not do in the ſight of a little child.

Averroes,

Averroes, a Spaniſh phyſician, (that he might ſeem to be mad with reaſon) by reaſon goes about to exempt and withdraw ſmaller things from the ſight and providence of God, as if it were moſt injurious to bring down the majeſty of God ſo low, thinking that the knowledge and underſtanding of God would become vile, if it were abaſed by taking notice of mean and inferior objects.

A very ſtrange opinion; as if a looking-glaſs was deformed, becauſe it repreſents deformities; or the beams of the ſun defiled, becauſe they fall upon dunghills and other filthy places; or the providence of God vilified, "who though he hath his dwelling ſo high, yet he abaſeth himſelf to behold the things in heaven and in earth." Pſal. cxiii. 6.

As he ſpake the word in the beginning, ſo all things were made, Gen. i. thus ever ſince he ſuſtaineth, and beareth up all things by the power of that word, Heb. i. His creation was the mother to bring things forth; his providence the nurſe to bring them up. His creation a ſhort providence, his providence a perpetual creation: the firſt ſetting up the frame of the houſe, the ſecond looking to the ſtanding and reparations thereof.

And therefore I will bring in Tully again to gainſay and condemn thoſe forenamed mad opinions, who (in his firſt book *de naturâ deorum*) tells us, that the providence of God reacheth, *uſque ad Apium, Formicarumque perfectionem,*

fectionem, to the huſbanding of bees and piſmires. And in his eighth book on the ſame ſubject, where ſpeaking againſt the Epicures and Atheiſts of that age, he ſaith, *curioſus, & plenus negotii Deus*; that God is a curious God, exquiſite in all things, and full of buſineſs. So far he an Heathen could ſee, and ſo much ſay.

But a Chriſtian, that knows more, can ſpeak further; that God is not a careleſs and improvident God, or a God by halves, and in part; above and not beneath the Moon, as the Syrians dreamed; upon the mountains, and not in the vallies; but he is a God in leſſer, as well as in greater matters; who beholds at one view all places, all perſons, and all things. And as our times are in God's hands, ſo he takes notice of every thing done by us in every minute and moment of our time; he knowing all things, not as they appear, but are *ſimplici notitia*, (as the ſchools ſpeak) with a ſure, certain, exact knowledge. Thus he takes notice of every ſin that is committed, and of every circumſtance in ſinning. He ſaw the ſins of the whole world in the book of his eternity, long before the foundations of the world were laid. He ſees them in every man's breaſt, before his hands commit them. "I knew thee (ſaith God) before thou cameſt forth of the womb" Jer. 1. 5. and God tells Iſrael, that he knew what they meant to do, long before they came out of the land of Egypt:

the

the conſideration whereof may curb and confound all thoſe that ſay, God ſhall not ſee.

This providence of God did reach to the handful of meal, and the cruiſe of oil in the poor widow's houſe, 2 King. iv. and ſo it reacheth to the calving of hinds, to the feeding of young lions and ravens, to the falling of ſparrows on the ground, to the numbering of our hairs, as to every thing beſide.

But to return again to that people, the Hindoos I ſpake of; and theſe circumſcribe God to place, and further conceit that he may be ſeen, but as in a miſt afar off, but not near.

They further believe that there are Devils, but ſo fettered and bound in chains as that they cannot hurt them.

I obſerved before the tenderneſs and ſcruple which is in very many of that people in taking the lives of an inferior, and meerly ſenſible, ay and of hurtful creatures too: and thoſe which are moſt tender hearted in this caſe are called Banians, who are by far more numerous than any other of thoſe Indian ſects; and theſe hold Pythagoras's Metempſycoſis as a prime article of their faith; and from hence it is that they cannot abide to kill any living creatures; and from this ground, that philoſopher diſſwades from eating fleſh, by many arguments laid down in the fifteenth book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis.

Heu! quantum ſcelus eſt in viſcere viſcera condi,
Congeſtoque avidum pingueſcere corpore corpus:

Alteri-

Alteriuſque animantem animanti vivere Lethon!

Ah ſinful! who in bowels bowels hide,
And fleſh, by greedy eating fleſh, do breed:
That creatures life, by creatures death may feed!

And after this, that philoſopher placeth the ſoul's immortality in its tranſmigration from one creature to another, ſaying:

Morte carent animæ: ſemperque priore relicta
Sede, novis domibus vivunt habitantque receptæ,
Ipſe ego (nam memini) Trojani tempore belli
Panthoides Euphorbus eram.———

Souls are immortal, and whene'er they leave
Their former houſes, new ones they receive.
I'th' Trojan war (I well remember) I
Was Panthus' ſon Euphorbus.———

And a little after he thus ſpeaks:

Omnia mutantur, nihil interit, errat, & illinc
Huc venit, hinc illuc, & quoſlibet occupat artus
Spiritus éque feris humana in corpora tranſit,
Inque feras noſter, nec tempore deperit ullo.
Utque novis facilis ſignatur cera figuris,
Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formas ſervat eaſdem,
Sed tamen ipſa eadem eſt: animam ſic ſemper eandem
Eſſe, ſed in varias doceo migrare figuras.
Ergo ne pietas ſit victa cupidine ventris,
Parcite (vaticinor) cognatas cædè nefandâ
Exturbare animas, ne ſanguine ſanguis alatur.

Things

Things are not loſt, but chang'd, the ſpirit ſtrays
Hence thither, hither hence, nor lodged ſtays
In any limbs: to human bodies flies
From beaſts, from theſe to thoſe, nor ever dies.
And as new prints in eaſy wax we make,
Which varying ſtill ſeveral impreſſions take,
Yet is itſelf the ſame: ſo the ſame ſoul
(I teach) doth into ſeveral faſhions roul.
Then let not piety, by luſt ſubdued,
Suffer your hands in parricide imbrued,
Diſlodge the ſouls, or nouriſh blood with blood.

Thus much from Ovid, of that Pythagorian fancy, which that untaught people come up very near unto; thinking that all the ſouls, both of men and women, after they leave their bodies, make their repoſe in other creatures, and thoſe ſouls (as they imagine) are beſt lodg'd that go into kine, which (in their opinion) are the beſt of all ſenſible creatures; and therefore, as before, they give yearly large ſums of money unto the Mogul to redeem them from ſlaughter. And this people further conceit, that the ſouls of the wicked go into vile creatures: as the ſouls of gluttons and drunkards into ſwine: ſo the ſouls of the voluptuous and incontinent into monkies and apes: thus the ſouls of the furious, revengeful, and cruel people, into lions, wolves, tygers, as into other beaſts of prey: ſo the ſouls of the envious into ſerpents: and ſo into other creatures, according to people's quali-

qualities and diſpoſitions, while they lived ſucceſſively from one to another of the ſame kind, *ad infinitum* for ever and ever, by conſequence they believing the immortality of the world. And upon that ſame mad and groundleſs fancy, probably they further believe, that the ſouls of froward, peeviſh, and teachy women, go into waſps; and that there is never a ſilly fly, but (if they may be credited) carries about it ſome ſouls (happily they think of light women) and will not be perſuaded out of their wild conceivings, ſo incorrigible are their ſottiſh errors.

The day of reſt which thoſe Hindoos obſerve as a ſabbath, is Thurſday, as the Mahometans Friday. Many feſtivals they have, which they keep ſolemnly, and pilgrimages, the moſt famous briefly ſpoken of before in thoſe ſhort deſcriptions of Nagraiot and Syba, obſerved in my firſt ſection.

Now there are a race of other Heathens, I named before, living amongſt thoſe Hindoos, which in many things differ very much from them; they are called Perſees, who (as they ſay) originally came out of Perſia, about that time Mahomet and his followers gave laws to the Perſians, and impoſed a new religion on them; which theſe Perſees not enduring, left their country, and came and ſettled themſelves in Eaſt-India, in the province of Guzarat, where the moſt part of them ſtill continue, though there are ſome of them likewiſe in

other

other parts of India) but wherever they live, they confine themſelves ſtrictly to their own tribe, or ſect.

(For their habits, they are clad like the other people of that empire, but they ſhave not their hair cloſe, as the other do, but ſuffer their beards to grow long.)

(Their profeſſion is, for the generality, all kinds of huſbandry, employing themſelves very much in ſowing and ſetting of herbs; in planting and dreſſing of vines, and palmeto or toddy trees, as in planting and huſbanding all other trees bearing fruit, and indeed they are a very induſtrious people, and ſo are very many of the Hindoos, (as before obſerved); and they do all very well in doing ſo,) and in this a due and deſerved commendation belongs unto them: for there is no condition whatſoever can privilege a folded arm. Our firſt parents, before their fall, were put into the garden of Eden, to dreſs it. Certainly, if idleneſs had been better than labour, they had never been commanded to do work; but they muſt labour in their ſtate of innocency, becauſe they were happy, and much more we in our ſinful loſt ſtate, that we may be ſo. It was a law given before the law, that man ſhould eat bread by the ſweat of his brows; and it is a goſpel precept too, that he who will not work, ſhall not eat; the ſluggard deſireth, and hath nothing, (ſaith Solomon) becauſe he doth nothing but de-

fire, and therefore his deſires do him no good, becauſe his hands refuſe to labour. That body therefore well deſerves to pine and ſtarve without pity, when two able hands cannot feed one mouth.

But further, for thoſe Perſees, they uſe their liberty in meats and drinks, to take of them what they pleaſe; but becauſe they would not give offence, either to the Mahometans or Banians, or to other Hindoos, amongſt whom they live, they abſtain from eating beef, or ſwines fleſh.

It is their uſual manner to eat alone, as for every one of them to drink in his own cup; and this is a means (as they think) to keep themſelves more pure; for if they ſhould eat with others, they are afraid that they might participate of ſome uncleanneſs by them.

Alas, poor creatures! that do not at all underſtand themſelves, and their moſt miſerable condition; for to them that are defiled, and unbelieving, is nothing pure.

Yet I obſerved before, the Mahometans and Gentiles there, are very ſtrict in this particular, ſo that they will not eat with any mixt company, and many of the Gentiles not eat with one another. And this hath been an ancient cuſtom among Heathens. It is ſaid, Gen. xliii. 32. that the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that was an abomination to the Egyptians: for this very reaſon

reaſon it was, that the woman of Samaria ſpake thus unto our bleſſed ſaviour, John iv. 9. "how is it that thou, being a Jew, aſkeſt water of me, which am a woman of Samaria? for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans." But without doubt, that forbearance, or ſhyneſs to eat one man with another, can fetch no ground, either from religion or reaſon; if it could, Peter would never have eaten with the Gentiles, Gal. 12. nor our bleſſed Saviour with Publicans and Sinners, at which the Scribes and Phariſees take very much exception, Mark ii. 16. No man, as a man, is to be accounted common or unclean, Acts 10. 28. and a man ſhall do much better, who eats and drinks with a ſober Heathen, than to keep company with a debauch'd drunken ſenſual man, though he calls himſelf a Chriſtian, eating and drinking with him ſuch things as pleaſe him, by being his companion in his riot and exceſs.

(For thoſe Perſees, further, they believe that there is but one God, who made all things, and hath a ſovereign power over all. They talk much of Lucifer, and of other evil ſpirits, but they ſay, that thoſe, and all Devils beſides, are kept ſo under and in awe by two good angels that have power over them, as that they cannot hurt or do the leaſt miſchief, without their leave and licence.)

(As many of the Hindoos aſcribe ſo much unto water, (as before) ſo theſe to fire; and

the reaſon of it is this, becauſe they have had this tradition from many ages and generations paſt, that their great law-giver, whom they call Zertooſt, was rapt up into Heaven, and there had fire delivered unto him, which he brought down thence, and he ever after commanded his followers to worſhip it, and ſo they do; and further they love any thing that reſembles fire, as the Sun and Moon; and therefore when they pray in the day time, they look towards the Sun, and ſo towards the Moon in their night devotions; and from that ſo over-high eſteem they have of fire, they keep fires continually burning in their Eggarees, or temples, in lamps fed with oil, which are always attended by their Prieſts; and they talk of many of theſe which have burned without extinguiſhment from many foregoing generations.

And by the way, that wild and mad fancy of theirs, that their Zertooſt did fetch fire from Heaven, is as certainly true, as that ancient fiction and fable of Prometheus, that he did ſtal fire from thence.

But to proceed: their prieſts they call Daroos, or Harboods, above both which they have a chief or high prieſt, they call the Deſtoor, who not often appears openly, but when he doth, he meets with much reverence and reſpect given unto him by the common people, and ſo do thoſe other church-men which are his inferiors; unto all which they allow

allow free maintenance for their more comfortable ſubſiſtance.

Thoſe church-men, by their law, are commanded to dwell near, and to abide much in their Eggarees, or temples, to give advice or direction unto any that ſhall repair unto them for it. They obſerve divers feaſts, and immediately after each of them a faſt follows.

That living ſenſible creature, which they firſt behold every morning (that is good and ſerviceable) is to them, as they ſay, a remembrancer all the day after, to draw up their thoughts in thankſgiving unto almighty God, who hath made ſuch good creatures for man's uſe and ſervice.

There are good things (as I have been informed) in that book of their religion delivered them in precepts, which their law-giver hath left unto them for the direction of their lives.

As firſt, To have ſhame and fear ever preſent with them, which will reſtrain and keep them from the committing of many evils.

Secondly, When they undertake any thing, ſeriouſly to conſider whether it be good, or bad, commanded, or forbidden them.

Thirdly, To keep their hearts and eyes from coveting any thing that is another's, and their hands from hurting any.

Fourthly, To have a care always to ſpeak the truth.

Fifthly, To be known only in their own

buſineſſes, and not to enquire into, and to buſy themſelves in other mens matters.

All which are good moral precepts; but they have another which mars and ſpoils all the reſt, and that is upon the greateſt penalties they can be threatned withall.

Sixthly, Not to entertain or believe any other law beſides that which was delivered unto them by their law-giver.

This people take but one wife, which hath liberty as the wives of the Hindoos, to go abroad. They never reſolve to take wives, or huſbands, without the advice of their churchmen; and when they come to be married, they ſtand ſome diſtance one from the other, there being two churchmen preſent, one in behalf of the man, and in behalf of the woman the other. The firſt of theſe aſks the woman whether or no ſhe will have that man to be her huſband? and the other aſks the man whether or no he will have that woman to be his wife? and they both conſenting, the prieſts bring them together and join their hands, praying that they may live in unity and love together; and then both thoſe churchmen ſcatter rice upon the married couple, intreating God to make them fruitful, in ſending them many ſons and daughters, that they may multiply as much as that ſeed doth in the ears that bear it. And ſo the ceremony being thus performed, which is about the time of midnight, the whole company depart, leaving the married couple together.

At

At the birth of every child, they immediately ſend for the Daroo, or churchman, who comes to the parties houſe, and there being certainly inform'd of the exact time of the child-birth, firſt undertakes to calculate its nativity, and to ſpeak ſomething of it by way of prediction, after which he confers with the parents about a name whereby it ſhall be called; which when they have agreed upon, the mother, in the preſence of the company there aſſembled, gives it that name.

And now laſtly, touching the burials of that people: they encircle pieces of ground with a round wall, that is of a good height, ſet apart for that purpoſe. Theſe burying places ſtand remote from houſes and road ways; the ground within them is made ſmooth, or elſe paved on the bottom, in the midſt whereof they have a round pit, made deep like a draw-well. The bodies of their dead, both men, women, and children, are carried to thoſe places upon a bier made of ſlight round iron bars, (for they will not have dead bodies touch any wood, leſt they ſhould defile it, becauſe that is fewel for their adored fire) and thus brought thither, are laid round about near the inſide of that wall, upon the ground or pavements, covered with a thin white cloth. The Daroo, or Harboode, accompanies the dead body near unto the door which enters that place (always kept faſt ſhut, but when it is opened upon this occaſion to let in their

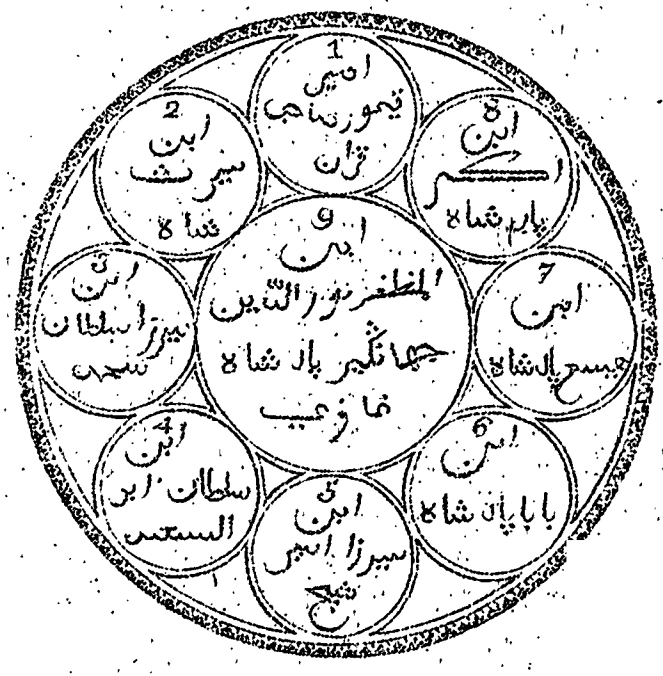
dead) and being come thither, ſpeaks theſe words in the audience of all thoſe which are thither aſſembled; "that whereas the party deceaſed conſiſted of all the four elements, he deſires that every one of them may now take his part." And this is the form they uſe, when they thus diſpoſe of the bodies of their dead: which being there ſo left in that open place, are preſently laid bare by the fowls of the air, who in a ſhort time after pick all their fleſh clear from their bones; by conſequence, their fleſhly part having no other ſepulchres, graves, or tombs, but the craws and gorges of thoſe ravenous fowls. And when upon this occaſion they enter that round ſtage of mortality, the bare ſkeletons they there find, which have parted with all their fleſh, are by thoſe bearers of the dead caſt into that deep round pit, where they mix promiſcuouſly together, and ſo make room for other dead bodies.

But now that my reader may not conceive that I have endeavoured in ſome of theſe ſtrange relations to write a new romance, I would have him to think, that for my part I do believe that there is very much of truth in the particulars I have inſerted, if there be any credit to be given to ſome men of much integrity, that lived amongſt them, who made it a great part of their buſineſs to be ſatisfied in many of the particulars here ſpoken of; or if I might truſt mine own eyes and ears that ſaw and heard much of it, which could have

enabled

IMPERIAL STANDARD
OF THE
GREAT MOGUL

The Royal Signet of the Great Mogul.



enabled me to have written a great deal more concerning the rites, ceremonies, cuſtoms, wild conceivings, and mad idolatries of this people, as of the Hindoos ſpoken of before, if I durſt have thrown away more time upon them: all which would have made my judicious reader thus to have concluded with me, that thoſe Mahometans and Heathens ground very many of their opinions upon cuſtom, tradition, and fancy, not reaſon, much leſs upon ſafe rules that might lead them into, and after keep them in the way of truth; they eſteeming it a very great boldneſs, a very high preſumption, to be wiſer in their religion than their forefathers were (as many of the more ignorant ſort of Papiſts will often ſay, though it be directly againſt themſelves) and therefore are deſirous to do, and to believe as their anceſtors have before them; to fare as they have fared, and as they have ſped to ſpeed, though they periſh everlaſtingly with them; never conſidering of, or ruminating on thoſe things which they hold and maintain for truths; being like unto unclean beaſts, which chew not the cud.

So much of that people in general: I come now more particularly to ſpeak

SECTION

SECTION XXII.

Of their King, the Great Mogul, his Deſcent, &c. &c.

NOW thoſe Mahometans and Gentiles I have named, live under the ſubjection of the Great Mogul; which name, or rather title, (if my information abuſe me not) ſignifies circumciſed, as himſelf and the Mahometans are; and therefore for his moſt general title he is called the Great Mogul, as the chief of the circumciſed, or the chief of the circumciſion.

He is lineally deſcended from that moſt famous conqueror, called in our ſtories Tamerlane, concerning whoſe birth and original, hiſtories much differ, and therefore I cannot determine it; but in this, all that write of him agree, that he having got together very many huge multitudes of men, made very great conqueſts in the ſouth eaſt parts of the world, not only on Bajazet the Emperor of the Turks, but alſo in Eaſt-India, and elſewhere; for what cannot force by multitudes do? This Tamerlane, in their ſtories is called Amir Timur, or the great Prince and Emperor Timur; who (as they ſay) towards his end, either by a hurt received in his thigh, or elſe by an unhappy fall from his horſe, which made him halt to his grave, was ever after that called

Timur

Timur-lang, or Timur the lame; from whence he is corruptly in our ſtories named Tamerlane. The late Mogul, at whoſe court we lived, was the ninth in a direct line from that of his great anceſtor.

And now that my reader may ſee the great Mogul in a portraiture (which was taken from a picture of his drawn to the life) I have cauſed that to be here inſerted: which preſents him in his daily unvaried habit, as he is bedeck'd and adorn'd with jewels he continually wears. For the faſhion of the habit in which he is here preſented, it is for the faſhion the habit of that whole vaſt empire; ſo that he who ſtrictly views this, may ſee the dreſs of the men throughout that whole great monarchy.

After this I have ſet up the royal ſtandard of the great Mogul, which is a couchant lion ſhadowing part of the body of the ſun.

And after that I have cauſed his Imperial Signet, or great ſeal, to be laid down before my reader's eyes; wherein nine rounds, or circles, are the names and titles of Tamerlane, and his lineal ſucceſſors, in Perſian words, which I ſhall make preſently to ſpeak Engliſh, and (as I conceive) no more in Engliſh than what is fully expreſſed in thoſe original words.

This ſeal (as it is here made in Perſian words) the great Mogul, either in a large, or leſſer figure, cauſeth to be put unto all Firmaunes, or letters patents, the preſent King's title put

in

in the middle and larger circle that is ſurrounded with the reſt; the impreſſion whereof is not made in any kind of wax, but ink, the ſeal put in the middle of the paper, and the writing about it; which paper there is made very large, ſmooth, and good, and in divers colours, beſides white, and all to write on. And the words on the Mogul's ſeal being imboſs'd, are put upon both ſides of his ſilver and gold coin (for there is no image upon any of it); and the like ſignets, or ſeals, are uſed by the great men of that country, and ſo by others of inferior rank, having their names at length engraven on them; with which they make impreſſions or ſubſcriptions, by ink put on them, to all their acts and deeds; which round circle is their hand and ſeal too.

For Timur-lang, or Tamerlane, he was famous about the year of Chriſt 1398, in the laſt year of the reign of Richard the ſecond, King of England: and he the firſt of the race of thoſe great monarchs, hath a title, which ſpeaks thus:

1. Amir, Timur, Saheb Ceran; that is, the great conqueror or Emperor Timur, or Tamerlane, Lord poſſeſſor of the conjunctions, or of the four corners of the world.

2. The ſecond, his ſon, was called Mirath-Sha, the King and inheritor of conqueſts, or the inheritor of his father's conqueſts.

3. The third, his ſon, was called Mirza, Sultan Mahomeds, the Prince and commander

for

for Mahomet; or the defender of the Mahometan religion; for this King (as it ſhould ſeem) was the firſt Indoſtan Emperor that profeſſed Mahometiſm; which Tamerlane, his grandfather, was a great enemy to, and therefore ever ſtrongly oppoſed it: but this third monarch of that line, and all his ſucceſſors ſince, have been Mahometans.

4. The fourth, his ſon, was called Sultan Abuſaid, the Prince and Father, or fountain of Beneficence.

5. The fifth, his ſon, was called Mirzee Amir Sheick, the Imperial Princely Lord.

6. The ſixth, his ſon, was called Baba Padſha, the King the Father, or the King, the father of his country.

7. The ſeventh, his ſon, was called Hamaſaon Padſha, the King Invincible.

8. The eighth, his ſon, was called Achabar Padſha, the great King or Emperor that is moſt mighty, or the King moſt mighty.

9. The ninth, his ſon, was called Almozaphar, Noor, Dein, Gehangeir, Padſha, Gaze, the moſt warlike and victorious King, the Light of Religion, and the Conqueror of the world.

Here are very high titles taken by Tamerlane and his ſucceſſors; and the lower we go, the greater ſtill they are; but the laſt of them ſwells biggeſt of all, calling himſelf, amongſt other fancies, the Conqueror of the World, and ſo he conceits himſelf to be: as they write

of

of Thraſyllus the Athenian, who believed that all the ſhips on the ſea were his own, and therefore he would call them *my ſhips*, when ever he ſaw them floating on the waters; and thus the great Mogul imagines all the Kings, nations, and people of the world, to be his ſlaves and vaſſals.

And therefore, when the Grand Signior, or Great Turk, ſent an Ambaſſador to the Great Mogul, who came unto him attended with a great train and retinue; and after, when he was ready to take his leave, deſired of the Mogul to know what he ſhould ſay to his maſter when he was returned; tell thy maſter, ſaid the Mogul, that he is my Slave, for my anceſtor conquered him.

The Mogul feeds and feaſts himſelf with this conceit, that he is Conqueror of the World; and therefore I conceive that he was troubled upon a time, when my Lord Ambaſſador having buſineſs with him; and upon thoſe terms there is no coming unto that King empty handed, without ſome preſent or other, (of which more afterward) and having at that time nothing left, which he thought fit to give him, preſented him with Mercator's great book of Coſmography, (which the Ambaſſador had brought thither for his own uſe) telling the Mogul that that book deſcribed the four parts of the world, and all the ſeveral countries in them contained. The Mogul at the firſt ſeemed to be much taken with it,

deſiring

deſiring preſently to ſee his own territories, which were immediately ſhewn to him; he aſked where were thoſe countries about them; he was told Tartaria and Perſia, as the names of the reſt which confine with him; and then cauſing the book to be turn'd all over, and finding no more to fall to his ſhare, but what he firſt ſaw, and he calling himſelf the Conqueror of the World, and having no greater ſhare in it, ſeemed to be a little troubled, yet civilly told the Ambaſſador, that neither himſelf, nor any of his people, did underſtand the language in which that book was written, and becauſe ſo, he further told him that he would not rob him of ſuch a Jewel, and therefore returned it unto him again.

And the truth is, that the Great Mogul might very well bring his action againſt Mercator and others who deſcribe the world, but ſtreighten him very much in their maps, not allowing him to be lord and commander of thoſe provinces which properly belong unto him.

But it is true likewiſe that he, who hath the greateſt ſhare on the face of the earth, if it be compared with the whole world, appears not great: as it was ſaid of the lands of Alcibiades, that compared with the globe of the whole earth, they did not appear bigger than a ſmall tittle. The Mogul's territories are more apparent, large, and viſible, as any one may take notice, who ſtrictly views this affixed

fixed map, which is a true repreſentation of that great empire in its large dimenſions. So that although the Mogul be not maſter of the whole world, yet hath he a great ſhare in it, if we conſider his very large territories, and his abundant riches, as will after more appear; whoſe wealth and ſtrength makes him ſo potent, as that he is able, whenſoever he pleaſeth, to make inroads upon, and to do much miſchief unto any of his neighbours: but I leave that, and come now to ſpeak,

SECTION XXIII.

Of the Magul's Policy in his Government, exerciſed by himſelf and Subſtitutes, &c.

AND it is that indeed, which is the worſt of all governments, called by Ariſtotle Δυναστείαν arbitrary, illimited, tyrannical, ſuch as a moſt ſevere maſter uſeth to ſervants, not that which a good King adminiſtreth to Subjects. Which makes it very uncomfortable for thoſe that live as ſubjects there, under the command of others, taller than themſelves by their ſword's length; or ſo to be fixed in any part of the world;

—— Where no laws reſiſt
The ſword, but that it acteth what it liſts;

As in that empire, where the King meaſureth his power by his ſword or launce, in making his

his will, his guide, and therefore any thing lawful that likes him; which carriage of his might very well become that emblem of illimited power, which is a ſword waved by a ſtrong arm and hand, and the words *ſic volo, ſic jubeo*, or thus will I have it; and if any there be ſo far diſcontented as to make any the leaſt queſtion at what he doth, he hath a far ſtronger argument ſtill in readineſs, than all the force of logic can make, and that is very many thouſands of men, that are ſtout and able ſoldiers, whom he keeps continually in arms and pay, that can make any thing good which he ſhall pleaſe to command.

There are no laws for government kept in that empire upon record (for ought I could ever learn) to regulate governors there in the adminiſtration of juſtice, but what are written in the breaſt of that King and his ſubſtitutes, and therefore they often take liberty to proceed how they pleaſe, in puniſhing the offender, rather than the offence; men's perſons, more than their crimes; *ægrotum potius, quam morbum.*

Yet ever they pretend to proceed in their ways of judicature (which is the right progreſs in judgment) *ſecundum allegata & probata*, by proofs, and not by preſumptions.

The great Mogul will ſit himſelf as judge, in any matters of conſequence that happen near unto him: and there are no malefactors that lie more than one night in priſon, and

many times not at all; for if the party offending be apprehended early in the day, he is immediately brought before him that muſt be his judge, by whom he is preſently either acquitted or condemned; if he be ſentenced to be whipt, he hath his payment, and that uſually with very much ſeverity, in the place often where he received that ſentence. If condemned to die, he is preſently (which as I apprehend it is a very hard courſe, though uſed anciently among the Jews) carried from his ſentence to his execution, which is done uſually in the Bazar, or market-place. And this round and quick juſtice keeps the people there in ſuch order and awe, as that there are not many executions.

Murder and theft they puniſh with death, and with what kind of death the judge pleaſeth to impoſe; for ſome malefactors are hang'd, ſome beheaded, ſome impaled, or put upon ſharp ſtakes (a death which hath much cruelty, and extreme torture and torment in it) ſome are torne in pieces by wild beaſts, ſome kill'd by elephants, and others ſtung to death by ſnakes.

Thoſe which are brought to ſuffer death by elephants (ſome of which vaſt creatures are train'd up to do execution on malefactors) are thus dealt withal: Firſt, if that over-grown beaſt be commanded by his rider to diſpatch that poor trembling offender preſently, who lies proſtrate before him, he will with his broad foot

foot immediately preſs him to death; but if that wretched creature be condemn'd *ita mori, ut ſe mori ſentiat*, ſo to die as that he may feel tortures and torments in dying (which are ſo many ſeveral deaths) the elephant will break his bones by degrees, as men are broken upon the wheel, as firſt his legs, then his thighs, after that the bones in both his arms; this done, his wretched ſpirit is left to breath its laſt out of the midſt of thoſe broken bones.

But it is a very ſad thing, and very much unbeſeeming a man, as he is a man, to ſeem to take pleaſure in executing of puniſhment, as thoſe appear to do, who make it their buſineſs to ſtudy and invent tortures to inflict on others.

Thus thoſe monſters of men did (in the primitive times of Chriſtianity) deviſe new torments for the exerciſe of the faith and patience of Chriſtians, which in their relations are extreme hard and ſad to read of, much more in their ſuffering of them were they to be endured: yet almighty God did then ſo ſupport his people in the midſt of all thoſe grievous extremities they were made to ſuffer, that their tormentors were more troubled to invent, than they were to endure tortures; ſo that they overcame, while they were overcome, and were not more than men, but more than conquerors over thoſe who ſeemed to conquer them.

I cannot deny but that the ſtrength of pride may carry men very far, the ſtrength

of deluſion much further; as we may obſerve from the examples of the antient Stoicks, and ſince them from others, whoſe frantic opinions have made ſo prodigal of their limbs and lives, as that they would ſeem very little to regard extremity of tortures and ſufferings, yea death itſelf.

When one told Theodorus (Seneca the philoſopher reports the ſtory) that he would hang him up alive in the air, he anſwered thus; *minitare iſtud purpuratis tuis, &c.* threaten this to thy Carpet Knights, Theodorus cares not whether his body rot in the air, or in the earth; and that when others were upon the rack, they would cry, *ô quam ſuave, &c.* oh what pleaſure is there in racking. Now what piety wrought in others, pride and deluſion wrought in theſe.

The truth is, *non pœna, ſed cauſa facit Martyrem*; it is not a man's ſuffering, but the reaſon of it, which made a martyr; and therefore (however others bear things out) they, and they only to whom it is given not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer, can behold their ſufferings ſo with a clear eye of faith, that though they be intolerable in themſelves, and ſeem ſo to others, yet are they made eaſy to them. Ignatius ran to the ſtake and kiſſed it, at which he was preſently burnt. Others have embraced thoſe flames which immediately after turn'd them into aſhes; whence tyrants and perſecutors have often ſerved, though much againſt

their

their wills, to build and enlarge the church of Chriſt; as the perſecution of Stephen ſerved to ſpread the doctrine of ſalvation, in the countries thereabouts, and to raiſe up a number of churches; that happening to perſecutors, which might happen to a man, who to put out a quick fire of burning coals, ſhould ſcatter them all over his chamber, and ſo ſet on fire his whole houſe. The church of Chriſt hath ever gained in perſecution what it hath loſt in proſperity. Therefore thoſe Chriſtians in the primitive church, when they were tortured, would not accept of deliverance, Heb. xi. 35. that is, accept of it upon any ſinful terms; and in the 138th of the ſame chapter, they received or took poſſeſſion of the promiſes which they had only in hope afar off, and embraced them, as if they had had them in hand ἀσπασάμενοι, they hugg'd them, they kiſs'd them, as reſting abundantly ſatisfied with the hope and expectation of them.

If in this life only the people of God had hope, then were they of all men moſt miſerable, for they are are here as ſome chief and tender plants of another country, who have much ado to live and grow; whereas the wicked, like weeds, thrive without watering. The Devil is called the prince of the world, and therefore it would be very ſtrange, if any of God's people ſhould find very much content where Satan hath ſo much to do. Here in this world, *optimi peſſimè agunt*, the beſt

uſually fare worſt, and the righteous have moſt wrong. But it will not always be thus; a time of refreſhing ſhall come from the preſence of the Lord, and then all tears ſhall be wiped from his people's eyes, and all ſadneſs ſhall be removed from their ſpirits. *Nec Malleus Tyrannorum, nec ſecuris perſecutionis*, and (as one of the ancients ſweetly comforts) when the hammer of tyranny cannot touch, nor the ax of perſecution hurt them, for they ſhall be out of the reach of all fears, troubles, annoyances, which make their lives here ſometimes for the preſent ſeem bitter unto them.

Without doubt, the ſervices of God's people would be very ill rewarded, if they ſhould continue here in this life ſtill: but God, who lends them to the world, owes them a far better turn than the whole earth can pay them; and therefore, when he ſees good, removes them hence, becauſe it is for their preferment; in the mean time, though the miſeries of God's people be great, their days are ſhort. And although almighty God do not ſay it vocally, yet ſecretly he ſpeaks to all his people; as ſometimes he did to Moſes, after he had done all the works which he had appointed him to do here; he bids him go up to Mount Nebo, and die there, Deut. xxxii. 50. go up and die; as if he had ſaid, go up and eat. So Joſeph before him ſaid unto his brethren, I die, Gen. 50. 24. as if he had ſaid, I eat, I drink, I ſleep. It is neither news or

ſtrange

ſtrange for any dear ſervant of God to think of dying; becauſe he knows that he ſhall part with nothing by death, but what is a burden to him, his ſin; loſe nothing by dying, but what he would fain be rid of, his corruption.

Hence the ancient fathers naming the death of the faithful their birth, and the day of their martyrdom the day of their nativity, ſhewed what great ſatisfaction and content they had in the thought and hope of the life to come. In the mean time they beheld their ſufferings, whatſoever they were, ſo with the eye of faith (as before) that it made them eaſy to be endured, while they looked not at things which were ſeen, or did not much regard them, but at the things which were not ſeen; for the things they ſaw, or felt here, how bitter or ſharp ſoever they were, were temporal, tranſient, would have an end; but the things they ſaw not, but aſſuredly expected, were eternal, where they ſhould find weight of glory for lightneſs of affliction, 2 Cor. iv. 17, 18. And therefore ſaid the ſame Apoſtle, Rom. viii. 18. "I reckon that the ſufferings of this preſent time are not worthy to be compared unto the glory which ſhall be revealed." I reckon λογίζομαι, it is a metaphor, either taken from accountants, that put many particulars into one entire ſum; or elſe from logicians, who draw certain or infallible concluſions from foregoing premiſes. Thus I reckon, or I conclude, when I compare profit or loſs

together, as what I ſhall certainly gain, and what I may happily loſe by the profeſſion of the Goſpel; when I have put all croſſes and incumbrances in the one ſcale, and the recompence of the reward in the other, it amounts all to this, that the eternal weight of the crown doth exceedingly outweigh the momentary weight of the croſs.

Thus it is with all men, who in their greateſt preſſures can ſee further than earth, as that firſt martyr, profeſſing the goſpel, Stephen, did, who died not upon a bed of down, but under a ſhower of ſtones, yet could out of that terrible and thick ſtorm look into Heaven; and ſo do others, who can behold whatſoever they feel with the eye of faith; and this is like that tree which Moſes caſt into the bitter waters of Marah, and it made them ſweet, Exod. 15. But as for others I have named, and ſhall further name, to behold their ſufferings and torments, only with the eye of ſenſe, it muſt needs make their tortures (however they bear them out) out of meaſure to torment.

I have been told by ſome, who were eye witneſſes, (whom I dare credit, and therefore I dare relate it) of ſtrange kinds of death executed by the command of the King of Japan upon his ſubjects, where ſome are crucified, or nailed to a croſs; others rather roaſted than burnt to death; thus, there is a ſtake ſet up, and a circle of fire at a pretty diſtance made

made round about it; the condemned perſon being naked, is ſo faſten'd to that ſtake, as that he may move round about it, and ſo he doth as long as he is able to ſtir, 'till his fleſh begins to bliſter; then he falls down, and there lies roaring, 'till the fire made about him puts him to ſilence, by taking away both his voice and life.

Now they ſay that one great reaſon, why they put men there unto ſuch exquiſite torments, is, becauſe they hold it a thing of the greateſt diſhonour there for any man to die by the hand of an executioner; therefore they are uſually commanded, when they are ſentenced to die, to rip up or cut open their own bellies; and thoſe who will not ſo do, are tormented in dying. Hence moſt of thoſe people, when they have received that hard command, to prevent death by dying, call for their friends about them, eat, and ſeem to be merry with them, and then in the cloſe of the meal, and in their preſence, commit this ſad ſlaughter upon themſelves; as firſt thoſe poor wretches make themſelves naked to the middle, he or they who are to die; then the moſt wretched ſelf-murderer, who is to act that bloody part, ſtrikes a ſharp knife into the bottom of his belly, then rips himſelf up, and after gives himſelf one other cut acroſs his belly; and when he hath done both theſe, if after he can but wipe his bloody knife upon a white paper, or napkin that is laid by him,

he

he is believed to part with his life with a very great deal of honour, and immediately (as he is made to believe) goes to Fakaman, who they ſay is the God of war. So much power the Devil hath in thoſe dark places of the world, to make the people there do what he pleaſe. Oh 'tis a miſery of all miſeries here, to be a drudge, a bond-man, a ſlave to the Devil! as thoſe, and ſo infinite multitudes more profeſſing Chriſt are, by obeying Satan in his moſt unreaſonable commands, and yet will not be made ſenſible of that, their baſeſt bondage.

But to return again to the place from whence I have made ſome excurſion: when I was in India, there was one ſentenced by the Mogul himſelf, for killing his own father, to die thus; firſt he commanded that this parricide ſhould be bound alive by his heels, faſten'd to a ſmall iron chain, which was tied to the hind leg of a great elephant, and then that this elephant ſhould drag him after him one whole remove of that King, from one place to another, which was about ten miles diſtant, that ſo all his fleſh might be worn off his bones; and ſo it was, when we ſaw him in the way following that King in his progreſs, for he appeared then to us a ſkeleton, rather than a body.

There was another condemned to die by the Mogul himſelf, (while we were at Amadavar) for killing his own mother; and at this the King was much troubled to think of a death

death ſuitable for ſo horrid a crime; but upon a little pauſe, he adjudged him to be ſtung to death by ſnakes, which was accordingly done. I told you before, that there are ſome mountebanks there, which keep great ſnakes to ſhew tricks with them: one of thoſe fellows was preſently called for to bring his ſnakes to do that execution; who came to the place where that wretched creature was appointed to die, and found him there all naked, (except a little covering before) and trembling. Then ſuddenly the mountebank (having firſt angred and provoked the venomous creatures) put one of them to his thigh, which preſently twin'd itſelf about that part, 'till it came near his groin, and there bit him 'till blood followed; the other was faſten'd to the outſide of his other thigh, twining about it, (for thoſe ſnakes thus kept are long and ſlender) and there bit him likewiſe; notwithſtanding the wretch kept upon his feet near a quarter of an hour, before which time the ſnakes were taken from him; but he complained exceedingly of a fire that with much torment had poſſeſſed all his limbs, and his whole body began to ſwell exceedingly, like Naſidius, bit by a Libian ſerpent, called a Preſter, of whom Mr. May, in his tranſlation of Lucan, the ninth book, thus writes:

His face and cheeks a ſudden fire did roaſt;
His fleſh and ſkin were ſtretch'd, his ſhape was loſt.

His

His ſwelling body is diſtended ſo,
Paſt human growth, and undiſtinguiſh'd are
His limbs; all parts the poiſon doth confound,
And he lies hid in his own body drown'd.

Now much after this manner did the ſtinging of thoſe ſnakes work upon that wretch, and about half an hour after they were taken from him, the ſoul of that unnatural monſter left his growing carcaſe, and ſo went to its place. And certainly both thoſe I laſt named ſo ſentenced, and ſo executed, moſt juſtly deſerved to be handled with all ſeverity, for taking away the lives of thoſe from whom they had receiv'd their own. Some of our family did behold the execution done upon the latter, who related all the paſſages of it; and for my part I might have ſeen it too, but that I had rather go a great way not to ſee, than one ſtep to behold ſuch a ſight.

After the example of that King, his governors deputed and ſet over provinces and cities proceed in the courſe of juſtice, to impoſe what puniſhment and death they pleaſe upon all offenders and malefactors.

That King never ſuffers any of his vicegerents to tarry long in one place of government, but removes them uſually (after they have exerciſed that power, which was given to them in one place, for one year) unto ſome other place of government, remote from the former, wherein they exerciſe their power; and

and this that King doth, that thoſe which be his ſubſtitutes may not in any place grow popular.

I told you before, that this people are very neat, ſhaving themſelves ſo often, as that they feel the razor almoſt every day; but when that King ſends any of them unto any place of government, or on any other employment, they cut not their hair at all, 'till they return again into his preſence; as if they deſired not to appear beautiful, or to give themſelves any content in this while they live out of the King's ſight; and therefore the King, as ſoon as he ſees them, bids them cut their hair.

When the Mogul by letters ſends his commands to any of his governors, thoſe papers are entertain'd with as much reſpect as if himſelf were preſent; for the governor having intelligence that ſuch letters are come near him, himſelf with other inferior officers ride forth to meet the Patamar, or meſſenger that brings them, and as ſoon as he ſees thoſe letters, he alights from his horſe, falls down on the earth, and then takes them from the meſſenger and lays them on his head, whereon he binds them faſt, and then returning to his place of public meeting, for diſpatch of buſineſſes, he reads them, and anſwers their contents with all care and diligence.

The King oft' times in his own perſon, and ſo his ſubſtitutes appointed governors for provinces

vinces and cities, judge in all matters criminal that concern life and death. There are other officers to aſſiſt them, which are called Cut-walls, (whoſe office is like that of our ſheriffs in England) and theſe have many ſubſtitutes under them, whoſe buſineſs it is to apprehend and bring before theſe judges ſuch as are to be tried for things criminal or capital, where the offender (as before) knows preſently what will become of him. And thoſe officers wait likewiſe on other judges there which are called Cadees, who only meddle with contracts and debts, and other buſineſſes of this nature 'twixt man and man. Now theſe officers arreſt debtors, and bring them before thoſe judges, and their ſureties too, bound as with us in contracts, confirmed (as before) under their hands and ſeals, and if they give not content unto thoſe which complain of them, they will impriſon their perſons, where they ſhall find and feel the weight of fetters; nay, many times they will ſell their perſons, their wives and children into bondage, when they cannot ſatisfy their debts; and the cuſtom of that country bears with ſuch hard and pitileſs courſes, ſuch as was complain'd of by the poor widow unto the prophet Eliſha, who when her huſband was dead, and ſhe not able to pay, the creditor came and took her two ſons to be bond-men, 2 King. iv. 1.

The Mogul looked to be preſented with ſome thing or other, when my Lord Ambaſſador

ſador came to him, and if he ſaw him often empty handed, he was not welcome; and therefore the Eaſt-India company were wont every year to ſend many particular things unto him, in the name of the King of England, that were given him at ſeveral times, eſpecially then when the Ambaſſador had any requeſt unto him, which made a very fair way unto it.

Among many other things, when my Lord Ambaſſador firſt went thither, the company ſent the Mogul an Engliſh coach, and harneſs for four horſes, and an able coachman to ſuit and manage ſome of his excellent horſes, that they might be made fit for that ſervice. The coach they ſent was lined within with crimſon China velvet; which when the Mogul took notice of, he told the Abaſſador that he wondered that the King of England would trouble himſelf ſo much, as to ſend unto China for velvet to line a coach for him, in regard that he had been informed that the Engliſh King had much better velvet near home, for ſuch or any other uſes.

And immediately after, the Mogul cauſed that coach to be taken all to pieces, and to have another made by it, for (as before) they are a people that will make any new thing by a pattern; and when his new coach was made according to the pattern, his workmen firſt putting the Engliſh coach together, did ſo with that they had new made; then pulling out

out all the China velvet which was in the Engliſh coach, there was in the room thereof put a very rich ſtuff, the ground ſilver, wrought all over in ſpaces with variety of flowers of ſilk, excellently well ſuited for their colours, and cut ſhort like a pluſh; and inſtead of the braſs nails that were firſt in it, there were nails of ſilver put in their places. And the coach which his own workmen made, was lined and ſeated likewiſe with a richer ſtuff than the former, the ground of it gold, mingled like the other with ſilk flowers, and the nails ſilver and double gilt; and after having horſes and harneſs fitted for both his coaches, he rode ſometimes in them, and contracted with the Engliſh coachman to ſerve him, whom he made very fine, by rich veſts he gave him, allowing him a very great penſion; beſides, he never carried him in any of thoſe coaches, but he gave him the reward of ten pounds at the leaſt, which had raiſed the coachman unto a very great, eſtate, had not death prevented it, and that immediately after he was ſettled in that great ſervice.

The Eaſt-India company ſent other preſents for that King, as excellent pictures, which pleaſed the Mogul very much, eſpecially if there were fair and beautiful women pourtrayed in them. They ſent likewiſe ſwords, rapiers, excellently well hatcht, and pieces of rich embroidery to make ſweet bags, and rich gloves, handſome looking-glaſſes, and other

other things, to give away, that they might have always ſome things in readineſs to preſent, both to the King, and alſo to his governors, where our factories were ſettled; for all theſe were like thoſe rulers of Iſrael, mentioned Hoſea iv. 18. who would love to ſay with ſhame, give ye. They looked to be preſented with ſomething, when our factors had any eſpecial occaſion to repair to them; and if the particular thing they then preſented did not like them well, they would deſire to have it exchanged for ſomething elſe; happily they having never heard of our good and modeſt proverb, that a man muſt not look into the mouth of a given horſe. And it is a very poor thing indeed, which is freely given, and is not worth the taking.

The Mogul ſometimes by his Firmauns, or letters patent, will grant ſome particular things unto ſingle or divers perſons, and preſently after will contradict thoſe grants by other letters, excuſing himſelf thus; that he is a great and an abſolute King, and therefore muſt not be tied unto any thing; which if he were, he ſaid that he was a ſlave, and not a free man: Yet what he promiſed, was uſually enjoyed, although he would not be tied to a certain performance of his promiſe. Therefore, there can be no dealing with this King upon very ſure terms, who will ſay and unſay, promiſe and deny. Yet we Engliſhmen did not at all ſuffer by that inconſtancy of his, but there

found a free trade, a peaceable reſidence, and a very good eſteem with that King and people; and much the better (as I conceive) by reaſon of the prudence of my Lord Ambaſſador, who was there (in ſome ſenſe) like Joſeph in the court of Pharoah, for whoſe ſake all his nation there ſeemed to fare the better. And we had a very eaſy way, upon any grievance, to repair to that King, as will appear now in my next ſection, which ſpeaks,

SECTION XXIV.

Of the King's ſhewing himſelf three Times publickly unto his People every Day, and in what State and Glory he doth oftentimes appear.

FIRST, early in the morning, at that very time the ſun begins to appear above the horizon, he appears unto his people in a place very like unto one of our balconies, made in his houſes, or pavilions for his morning appearance, directly oppoſite to the eaſt, about ſeven or eight feet high from the ground; againſt which time a very great number of his people, eſpecially of the greater ſort, who deſire as often as they can to appear in his eye, aſſemble there together, to give him the Salam, or good morning, crying all out, as ſoon as they ſee their King, with a loud voice, Padſha Salamet, which ſignifies, live O great King,

King or O great King health and life, (as all the people cried 1 King. 1. 39. God ſave King Solomon; and thus they clapped their hands for joy, when Jehoaſh was made King, or let the King live, 2 King. 11. 12.) At noon he ſhews himſelf in another place like the former, on the ſouth-ſide; and a little before ſun-ſet, in a like place, on the weſt ſide of his houſe or tent; but as ſoon as the ſun forſakes the hemiſphere, he leaves his people, uſhered in and out with drums and wind inſtruments, and the people's acclamations.

At both which times likewiſe, very great numbers of his people aſſemble together, to preſent themſelves before him: And at any time of theſe three times, he that hath a ſuit to the King, or deſires juſtice at his hands, be he poor or rich, if he hold up a petition to be ſeen, ſhall be heard and anſwered.

And between ſeven and nine of the clock at night, he ſits between his houſe or tent more privately, in a ſpacious place called his Goozalean, or bathing houſe, made bright like day by abundance of lights; and here the King ſits mounted upon a ſtately throne; where his nobles, and ſuch as are favoured by him, ſtand about him; others find admittance too, but by ſpecial leave from his guard, who cauſe every one that enters that place to breath upon them, and if they imagine that any have drank wine, they keep him out.

At this time my Lord Ambaſſador made his uſual addreſſes to him, and I often waited on

him thither, and it was a good time to do buſineſs with that King, who then was for the moſt part very pleaſant, and full of talk unto thoſe which were round about him, and ſo continued 'till he fell aſleep, oft times by drinking) and then all aſſembled immediately quitted the place, beſides thoſe which were his truſted ſervants, who by turns watched his perſon.

The Mogul hath a moſt ſtately, rich, and ſpacious houſe in Agra, his metropolis, or chief city, which is called his palace royal, wherein there are two towers, or turrets, about ten feet ſquare, covered with maſſy gold, as ours are uſually with lead: this I had from Tom. Coriat, as from other Engliſh merchants who keep a factory in that place. And further they told me, that he hath a moſt glorious throne within that his palace, aſcended by divers ſteps, which are covered with plate of ſilver, upon the top of which uſcent ſtand four lions upon pedeſtals of curiouſly coloured marble; which lions are all made of maſſy ſilver, ſome part of them gilded with gold, and beſet with precious ſtones. Thoſe lions ſupport a canopy of pure gold, under which the Mogul ſits, when he appears in his greateſt ſtate and glory.

For the beauty of that court, it conſiſts not in gay and gorgeous apparel; for the country is ſo hot, that they cannot endure any thing that is very warm or maſſy, or rich about them.

The

The Mogul himſelf, for the moſt part, is covered with a garment (as before deſcribed) made of pure white and fine callico lawn, and ſo are his nobles, which garments are waſhed after one day's wearing. But for the Mogul, though his cloathing be not rich and coſtly, yet I believe that there is never a monarch in the whole world that is daily adorned with ſo many jewels as himſelf is. Now they are jewels which make men's covering moſt rich, ſuch as people in other parts ſometimes wear about them, that are otherwiſe moſt meanly habited; to which purpoſe, I was long ſince told by a gentleman of honour ſent as a companion to the old Earl of Nottingham, when he was employed as an extraordinaty ambaſſador by King James, to confirm the peace made 'twixt himſelf and the King of Spain, which ambaſſador had a very great many gentlemen in his train, in as rich cloathing as velvets and ſilks could make; but then there did appear many a great Don, or Grandee in the Spaniſh court, in a long black bays cloak and caſſock, which had one hatband of diamonds, that was of more worth by far than all the bravery of the Ambaſſador's many followers.

But for the Mogul, I wonder not at his many jewels, he being (as I conceive) the greateſt and richeſt maſter of precious ſtones that inhabits the whole earth. For diamonds, (which of all other are accounted moſt pre-

cious ſtones) they are found in Decan, where the rocks are, out of which they are digged; the princes whereof are the next neighbours and tributaries to the great Mogul; and they pay him as tribute many diamonds yearly; and further, he hath the refuſal of all thoſe rich ſtones they ſell, he having gold and ſilver in the greateſt abundance, (and that will purchaſe any thing but Heaven) and he will part with any money for any gems beſide, that are precious and great, whether rubies, or any other ſtones of value, as alſo for rich pearls.

And his grandees follow him in that fancy; for one of his great lords gave our merchants there twelve hundred pounds ſterling for one pearl, which was brought out of England. The pearl was ſhaped like a pear, very large, beautiful, and orient, and ſo its price deſerved it ſhould be.

Now the Mogul having ſuch an abundance of Jewels, wears many of them daily, enough to exceed thoſe women, which Rome was wont to ſhew in their ſtarlike dreſſes, who in the height and proſperity of that empire

——Were ſaid to wear
The ſpoils of nations in one ear.

Or Lollia Paulina, who was hid with jewels. For the great Mogul, the diamonds, rubies, and pearls, which are very many and daily worn by him, are all of an extraordinary great-

greatneſs, and conſequently of an exceeding great value. And beſides thoſe he wears about his ſhaſh, or head covering, he hath a long chain of jewels hanging about his neck, as long as an ordinary gold chain, others about his wriſts, and the hilts of his ſword and dagger are moſt curiouſly enriched with thoſe precious ſtones; beſides others of very great value, which he wears in rings on his fingers.

Ventilat æſtivum digitis ſudantibus aurum,
Nec ſufferre queat majoris Pondera gemmæ.
JUV. *Sat.* 1.

He airs his ſweaty fingers with rings freight,
And jewels, as if burden'd with their weight.

The firſt of March the Mogul begins a royal feaſt, like that which Ahaſuerus made in the third year of his reign, Eſth. 1. wherein he ſhewed the riches of his glorious kingdom. This feaſt the Mogul makes, is called the Nooroos, that ſignifies nine days, which time it continues, to uſher in the new year, which begins with the Mahometans there the tenth day of March.

Againſt which feaſt, the nobles aſſemble themſelves together at that court in their greateſt pomp, preſenting their King with great gifts, and he requiting them again with princely rewards; at which time I being in his preſence, beheld moſt immenſe and incredible riches, to my amazement, in gold, pearls,

precious ſtones, jewels, and many other glittering vanities. This feaſt is uſually kept by the Mogul while he is in his progreſs, and lodges in tents.

Whether his diet at this time be greater than ordinary, I know not, for he always eats in private among his women, where none but his own family ſee him while he is eating; which family of his conſiſts of his wives and children, women and eunuchs, and his boys, and none but theſe abide and lodge in the King's houſes or tents; and therefore how his table is ſpread, I could never know; but doubtleſs he hath of all thoſe varieties this empire affords, if he ſo pleaſe. His food (they ſay) is ſerved in unto him in veſſels of gold, which covered, and brought unto him by his eunuchs, after it is proved by his taſters, he eats, not at any ſet times of the day, but he hath proviſion ready at all times, and calls for it when he is hungry, and never but then.

The firſt of September (which was the late Mogul's birth-day) he retaining an antient yearly cuſtom) was in the preſence of his chief grandees weighed in a ballance; the ceremony performed within his houſe or tent, in a fair ſpacious room, wherein none were admitted but by ſpecial leave. The ſcales in which he was thus weighed, were plated with gold, and ſo the beam on which they hung, by great chains made likewiſe of that moſt precious metal; the King ſitting in one of them,

was

was weighed firſt againſt ſilver coin, which immediately after was diſtributed among the poor; then was he weighed againſt gold; after that againſt jewels, as they ſay; but I obſerved (being preſent there with my Lord Ambaſſador) that he was weighed againſt three ſeveral things, laid in ſilken bags on the contrary ſcale. When I ſaw him in the ballance, I thought on Belſhazzar, who was found too light, Dan. 5. 27. By his weight, (of which his phyſicians yearly keep an exact account) they preſume to gueſs of the preſent eſtate of his body, of which they ſpeak flatteringly, however they think it to be.

When the Mogul is thus weighed, he caſts about among the ſtanders by thin pieces of ſilver, and ſome of gold, made like flowers of that country, and ſome of them are made like cloves, and ſome like nutmegs, but very thin and hollow. Then he drinks to his nobles in his royal wine, (as that of Ahaſuerus is called, Eſth. 1. 7.) who pledge his health; at which ſolemnity he drank to my Lord Ambaſſador, in a cup of gold moſt curiouſly enamelled, and ſet all over the outſide with ſtones, (which were ſmall rubies, turkeſſes, and emeralds) with a cover or plate to ſet it on, both of pure gold, the brims of which plate, and the cover, were enamelled, and ſet with ſtones as the other, and all theſe together weighed 24 ounces of our Engliſh weight, which he then gave unto my Lord Ambaſſador, whom he

he ever uſed with very much reſpect, and would moreover often aſk him why he did not deſire ſome good and great gifts at his hands, he being a great King and able to give it: the Ambaſſador would reply, that he came not thither to beg any thing of him; all that he deſired was, that his country-men, the Engliſh, might have a free, ſafe, and peaceable trade in his dominions. The Mogul would anſwer, that he was bound in honour to afford them that, we coming from the furthermoſt parts of the world to trade there; and would often bid the Ambaſſador to aſk ſomething for himſelf; who to this would anſwer, that if that King knew not better to give, than he knew to aſk, he muſt have nothing from him. Upon theſe terms they continually both ſtood; ſo that in concluſion the Ambaſſador had no gift from him, but that before mentioned, beſides an horſe or two, and ſometimes a veſt, or upper garment, made of ſlight cloth of gold, which the Mogul would firſt put upon his own back, and then give it to the Ambaſſador. But the Mogul (if he had ſo pleaſed) might have beſtowed on him ſome great princely gift, and found no greater miſs of it, than there would be of a glaſs of water taken out of a great fountain. Yet although the Mogul had ſuch infinite treaſures, yet he could find room to ſtore up more ſtill; the deſires of a covetous heart being ſo unſatiable, as that it never knows when it hath enough; being

being like a bottomleſs purſe, that can never be fill'd; for the more it hath, the more ſtill it covets.

See an image hereof this in Alcmæon, who being will'd by Crœſus to go into his treaſure houſe, and there take as much gold as himſelf could carry away, provided for that purpoſe a long garment that was double down to his ancles, and great boots, and fill'd them both; nay he ſtuffed his mouth, and tied wedges of gold to the locks of his head; and doubtleſs, but for killing himſelf, he would have fill'd his ſcull and bowels therewith. Here was a heart ſet upon gold, and gold overlading a heart; for the man ſtowing ſo much about him, as that he could not ſtir with it, forfeited what he might have had; and was turned out of the treaſury, as poor and empty as he came into it. He is a rich man, whatever he hath, (be it more or leſs) that is contented: he is a poor man who ſtill wants more, in becoming poor by plenty, wanting what he hath, as well, as much, as what he hath not; and ſo do very many, who are the greateſt engroſſers of the world's wealth.

But certainly there is no heart more poor and barren than that which is ſet upon abundance; and as the ground wherein there are mines of gold and ſilver, and the moſt precious ſtones, is moſt barren; ſo the hearts of ſuch as are moſt violently carried on after the deſire of theſe things, are moſt barren likewiſe.

wiſe. Therefore almighty God in wiſdom hath laid up treaſures in the bowels of the earth ſecretly and baſely; ſecretly, that they ſhould not be much ſought after; and baſely, that they ſhould not be too much deſired nor valued. Hence the Prophet Habak. ii. 6. ſpeaks thus to covetous men "woe be to him that lades himſelf with thick clay, how long?" where riches are compared to thick clay, becauſe they are but the very ſelf-ſame earth we tread on, better hardened and coloured, and becauſe they are many times a burden unto him that hath them: how long? ſaith the Prophet, is there no end of encreaſing? how long? hath the ſea bars and bounds, and the deſires of man in this caſe without all moderation? how long? can any ever hope to fill and ſatisfy their hearts with this? let them know, that the barren womb, the unmerciful grave, and unſatiable death, will ſooner be ſatisfied, than the hearts ſet upon riches find ſatisfaction from them; for "he that loveth ſilver, ſhall not be ſatisfied with ſilver." Eccleſ. 5. 10. and therefore they who can come up to a right underſtanding of themſelves in this caſe, will have a far greater cauſe to fear, than to deſire abundance: which that great Emperor hath, yet ſtill would have more. This covetouſneſs carries men very far; and ambition (which is a refined, or rather an heightened covetouſneſs) ſtill further.

I have obſerved much of the riches, pomp, greatneſs, and glory of the great Mogul: So

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in the book of Eſth. chap. 1, we may read of the goodly tabernacle of King Ahaſuerus, in the garden of his palace; where were white, green, and blue hangings, faſtened with cords of fine linen, and purple, and ſilver rings, and pillars of marble: the beds were of gold and ſilver, upon a pavement of porphyry and alabaſter, and ſtone of blue colour; and he gave thoſe (whom he there feaſted) drink in changes of veſſels of gold, and royal wine in abundance, according to the ſtate of the King. We may further read there of his hundred and twenty-ſeven provinces, and his Princes and Captains thereof, his throne and his palace at Shuſhan, &c. So of the treaſures of Hezekiah, Iſa. 39. his ſilver and gold, his ſpices and precious ointments, and armory, and all the ſtore of his houſe, which he and his fathers had laid up, &c. So of Belſhazzar, his thouſand princes, wives and concubines, Dan. 5. O what ſhadows do theſe hundreds and thouſands caſt over the heads of men, to give comfort unto them for the preſent, and to make them ſay, under theſe coverts will we ſit and be at reſt, and forget that ſome ſudden meſſenger from the Lord, either ſickneſs or death, or the like, can preſently deprive them of all their preſent enjoyments and comforts.

But the Mogul takes a courſe to put the remembrance of death as far from him as poſſibly he can; and therefore there is no man that at any time wears any blue thing in that preſence, which is there the colour of mourn-

ers;

ers; neither is the name of death at any time mentioned in that King's ears; but when any one is dead, of whom his Majeſty muſt have intelligence, the meſſage is delivered unto him in mild, ſoft, flattering terms, to this purpoſe; "ſuch, or ſuch a one hath made himſelf a ſacrifice at your Majeſty's feet"—*O mors, quam acerba eſt memoria tua homini pacem habenti in poſſeſſionibus ſuis.*

O death, how bitter are thy thoughts, to one
Who eaſe enjoys in his poſſeſſion!
No loſs he deems ſo great as loſs of breath;
Death 'tis to ſuch a one, to think of death.

Certainly, if death, when it comes to ſtrike, would take money and be gone, it would in a ſhort time engroſs the wealth of the whole world; but it will not; for no wit, nor wiſdom, nor wealth, nor policy, nor ſtrength, nor any thing beſide, can keep off the impartial wounding hand of death. That mighty Prince we ſpeak of, who did all he could to ſtave off the thought of dying, and ſince dead, though while he lived he denied himſelf nothing that might pleaſe his corrupted nature; not high and richly compounded wines, not ſtrange fleſh, nor any thing beſide that might for the preſent give ſome ſeeming content to his brutiſh ſenſual appetite; *ut ipſum voluptas potius quam ipſe voluptatem, &c.* that pleaſures did poſſeſs him, rather than he pleaſures; which will further appear, if we conſider more,

SECTION

SECTION XXV.

Of his Paſtimes, at Home and Abroad; and ſomething of his Quality and Diſpoſition.

NOW what he doth, and how he behaves himſelf amongſt his houſeful of wives and women, cannot be known, and therefore not related; but when he ſhews himſelf (as before) thrice openly to his people every day, he has always ſomething or other preſented before him to make him ſport, and to give him preſent content.

As ſometimes he delighteth himſelf in ſeeing horſes ridden, the natives there (as before) being very excellent in their well managing of them; ſometimes he ſaw his great elephants fight; and at other times he pleaſed himſelf in ſeeing wreſtling, or dancing, or juggling, and what elſe he liked.

And it happened, that but a few years before our abode there, a juggler of Bengala (a kingdom famous for witches, and men of that profeſſion) brought an ape before the King, (who was even greedy to pleaſe himſelf with novelties) profeſſing that he would do many ſtrange feats; the Mogul was ready preſently to make a trial of this, and forthwith called ſome boys about him, (which he was conceived to keep for ſuch a uſe as I dare not name) and plucking a ring from his finger, gave it

it one of them to hide, that he might make a trial whether or no the ape could find it out; who preſently went to the boy that had it. The Mogul made ſome further trials like this, where the ape did his part as before. And before the ape was taken out of his preſence, this ſtrange, following, and unexpected thing, came into the King's thought: There are (ſaid he) many diſputes in the world about that true Prophet that ſhould come into the world; we, ſaid the Mogul, are for Mahomet, the Perſians magnify Mortis Hale (but they are Mahometans for religion likewiſe); the Hindoos, or Heathens there, have many whom they highly extol and magnify, as Bremaw, and Bramon, and Ram, and Permiſſar; the Parſees are for Zertooſt; the Jews for Moſes; the Chriſtians for Chriſt; and he added three more, whoſe names I have not, who make up the number of twelve, who have all their ſeveral followers in that part of the world; and then he cauſed thoſe twelve names to be written in twelve ſeveral ſcrolls, and put together, to ſee if the ape could draw out the name of the true Prophet; this done, the ape put his paw amongſt them, and pull'd forth the name of Chriſt. The Mogul a ſecond time cauſed thoſe twelve names to be written again in twelve other ſcrolls and characters, and put together, when the ape as before pull'd forth the name of Chriſt.

Then Mahobet-Chan, a great nobleman of that court, and in high favour with the King, ſaid

ſaid that it was ſome impoſture of the Chriſtians, (though there were none that did bear that name there preſent) and deſired that he might make a third trial; which granted, he put but eleven of thoſe names together, reſerving the name of Chriſt in his hand; the ape ſearching as before, pull'd forth his paw empty, and ſo twice or thrice together; the King demanding a reaſon for this, was anſwered, that happily the thing he looked for was not there; he was bid to ſearch for it; and then putting out thoſe eleven names, one after the other, in a ſeeming indignation rent them; then running to Mahomet-Chan, he caught him by the hand where the name of Chriſt was concealed, which delivered, he opened the ſcroll, and ſo held it up to the King, but did not tear it as the former; upon which the Mogul took the ape, and gave his keeper a good penſion for to keep him near about him, calling him the *divining ape*; and this was all that followed upon this admirable thing, except the great wonder and amazement of that people.

There was one ſome years ſince wrote this ſtory (but ſomewhat varied from that I have here related) in a little printed pamphlet, and told his reader that I had often ſeen that ape while I lived in thoſe parts; which particular he ſhould have left out: But for the relation itſelf, I believe it was ſo, becauſe it hath been often confirmed there in its report unto

me by divers perſons, who knew not one another, and were differing in religion; yet all agreed in the ſtory, and in all the circumſtances thereof.

This I am ſure of, that almighty God, who can do what he will do, (for all things are ſo far from being impoſſible to him, that nothing is hard) can do wonderful things by the weakeſt means, that the weaker the inſtruments are, the more glory may be aſcribed unto him while he acts by them.

In the ſacred ſtory, Pharoah had no ſooner aſked, who is the Lord? Ex. 5. but preſently ſome of the weakeſt of the creatures riſe up, and appear (as it were in arms) to tell him who the Lord was; ſo that he who formerly thought that there was no power, either in Heaven or earth, to maſter or contradict him. is preſently confuted and conquered by frogs, flies, lice, and caterpillars, by thoſe poor, infirm, ſilly, and moſt deſpicable creatures; who when they had entered the liſts, would not give proud Pharoah over, 'till they had humbled him, and magnified their maker, *virtus Dei in infirmitate.* Balaam's aſs had more diſcovered unto him than unto his rider; and ſo had this ape (as it ſhould ſeem) more than to his beholders, or to his keeper.

Now for the diſpoſition of that King, it ever ſeemed unto me to be compoſed of extremes; for ſometimes he was barbarouſly cruel, and at other times he would ſeem to be exceeding fair and gentle.

For

For his cruelties, he put one of his women to a miſerable death; one of his women he had formerly touched and kept company with, but now ſhe was ſuperannuated; for neither himſelf nor nobles (as they ſay) come near their wives or women, after they exceed the age of thirty years. The fault of that woman was this; the Mogul upon a time found her and one of his eunuchs kiſſing one another; and for this very thing, the King preſently gave command that a round hole ſhould be made in the earth, and that her body ſhould be put into that hole, where ſhe ſhould ſtand with her head only above ground, and the earth to be put in again unto her cloſe round about her, that ſo ſhe might ſtand in the parching ſun 'till the extreme hot beams thereof did kill her; in which torment ſhe lived one whole day, and the night following, and almoſt 'till the next noon, crying out moſt lamentably, while ſhe was able to ſpeak, in her language, as the Shumanite's child did in his, 2 King. 4. "Ah my head, my head!" which horrid execution, or rather murder, was acted near our houſe; where the eunuch, by the command of the ſaid King, was brought very near the place where this poor creature was thus buried alive, and there in her ſight cut all into pieces.

That great King would be often overcome by wine, yet (as if he meant to appropriate that ſin to himſelf) would puniſh others with

very much ſeverity, who were thus diſtempered.

I have long ſince heard a ſtory which is ſomewhat parallel to this; that in former times, when this land in which we live did not ſo much ſtink of that beaſtly ſin of drunkenneſs, which robs a man of himſelf, and leaves a beaſt in the ſkin of a man; I ſay, when drunkenneſs in England was not ſo common, there was a juſtice of peace in this nation (and I believe that the ſtory is very true) who laid a poor butcher by the heels, for preſuming to be drunk; telling him, that he was but a poor beggarly fellow, and he preſume to be drunk, and therefore he would puniſh him; ſaying further, that it was enough for his eldeſt ſon ſo to be, &c. but this by the way.

Sometimes, for little or no faults, the Mogul would cauſe men to be moſt ſeverely whipped, 'till they were almoſt ready to die under the rod; which after they muſt kiſs in thankfulneſs.

He cauſed one of his ſervants of the higher rank, to be very much whipt, for breaking a china cup he was commanded to keep ſafe, and then ſent him into China (which is a marvellous diſtance from thence) to buy another.

Sometimes, in other of his mad diſtempers, he would condemn men to ſervitude, or diſmember, or elſe put them to death, as ſacrifices to his will and paſſion, not juſtice: So that

that it might be ſaid of him, *quando male, nemo pejus*, that when he did wickedly, none could do worſe; as if it had been true of him, which was ſpoken of that monſter Nero, obſerved before, who was called *Lutum ſanguine maceratum*, dirt ſoaked in blood.

For his good actions, he did relieve continually many poor people, and not ſeldom would ſhew many expreſſions of duty and ſtrong affections to his mother, then living; ſo that he who eſteemed the whole world as his vaſſals, would help to carry her in a palankèe upon his ſhoulders; and in this he did exceedingly differ from that moſt unnatural and cruel Nero, who moſt barbarouſly killed his own mother Agrippina, cauſing (as they write) that bed, in which he was conceived, and from whence born, and wherein he took up his firſt lodging, to be ript up and ſpoiled.

And he would ſpeak moſt reſpectfully of our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt; but his parentage, his poverty, and his croſs, did ſo confound his thoughts, that he knew not what to think of them; (as Bernard complained of ſome in his time, that they took offence at the clouts and rags of our bleſſed Saviour, at the humility and meannneſs of his birth) believing that it could not ſtand with the majeſty of the Son of God, to appear in the world in ſuch meanneſs as he did; though he had been told that Chriſt Jeſus came into the world in that low condition, that he might beat down the pride

thereof. And that at his firſt coming, he came for ſinners, and then he came in great humility; but at his ſecond coming, he ſhall come againſt ſinners, and then will he appear in power and great glory.

Laſtly, the Mogul is very free and noble unto all thoſe which fall into, and abide in his affection; which brings me now to ſpeak,

SECTION XXVI.

Of the exceeding great Penſions the Mogul gives unto his Subjects; how they are raiſed, and how long they are continued, &c.

WHICH great revenues that many of them do enjoy, makes them to live like great Princes, rather than other men. Now for thoſe penſions, which are ſo exceeding great, the Mogul in his far extended monarchy, allows yearly pay for one million of horſe, and for every horſe and man about eighteen pounds ſterling per annum, which is exactly paid every year, raiſed by land, and other commodities which that empire affords, and are appointed for that purpoſe. Now ſome of the Mogul's moſt beloved nobles have the pay of ſix thouſand horſe; and there are others (at leaſt twenty in the empire) that have the pay of five thouſand horſe; exceeding large penſions above the revenue of any other ſub-

ſubjects in the whole world, they amounting unto more than one hundred thouſand pounds yearly unto a particular man. Now others have the pay of four thouſand horſe; others of three, or two, or one thouſand horſe, and ſo downward; and theſe by their proportions are appointed to have horſes always in readineſs, well mann'd and otherwiſe appointed for the King's ſervice; ſo that he who hath the pay of five or ſix thouſand, muſt always have one thouſand in readineſs, or more, according to the King's need of them, and ſo in proportion all the reſt, which enables them on a ſudden to make up the number, at the leaſt, of two hundred thouſand horſe; of which number they have always at hand one hundred thouſand, to wait upon the King whereſoever he is.

There are very many private men in cities and towns, who are merchants, or tradeſmen, that are very rich; but it is not ſafe for them that are ſo, ſo to appear, leſt that they ſhould be uſed as fill'd ſponges.

But there is never a ſubject in that empire, who hath land of inheritance which he may call his own; but they are tenants at the will of their King, having no other title to that they enjoy, beſides the King's favour, which is by far more eaſily loſt than gotten. It is true, that the King advanceth many there unto many great honours, and allows them (as before) marvellous great revenues; but

no ſon there enjoys either the titles or means of his father, that hath had penſions from that King, for the King takes poſſeſſion of all when they are dead, appointing their children ſome competent means for their ſubſiſtence, which they ſhall not exceed, if they fall not into the King's affection, as their fathers did; wherefore many great men in this empire live up to the height of their means, and therefore have a very numerous train, a very great retinue to attend upon them, which makes them to appear like Princes, rather than ſubjects.

Yet this their neceſſary dependance on their King, binds them to ſuch baſe ſubjection, as that they will yield readineſs unto any of his unreaſonable and wilful commands; as Plutarch writes of the ſoldiers of Scipio, *nullus eſt horum, qui non conſcenſâ turri ſemet in mare præcipitaturus ſi juſſero*, that there was never a one in his army, by his own report, that would not for a word of his mouth have gone up into a tower, and caſt himſelf thence head-long into the ſea; and thus the people here will do any thing the King commands them to do; ſo that if he bid the father to lay hands of violence upon his ſon, or the ſon upon his father, they will do it, rather than the will of their King ſhould be diſobeyed: thus forgetting nature, rather than ſubjection.

And this tie of theirs (I ſay) upon the King's favour, makes all his ſubjects moſt ſervile

ſervile flatterers; for they will commend any of his actions, though they be nothing but cruelty; ſo any of his ſpeeches, though nothing but folly. And when the King ſits and ſpeaks to any of his people publickly, there is not a word falls from him that is not written by ſome ſcriveners, or ſcribes, that ſtand round about him.

In the year 1618, when we lived at that court, there appeared at once, in the month of November, in their hemiſphere, two great blazing ſtars, the one of them north, the other ſouth; which unuſual ſight appeared there for the ſpace of one month. One of thoſe ſtrange comets, in the north, appeared like a long blazing torch, or launce fired at the upper end; the other, in the ſouth, was round, like a pot boiling out fire. The Mogul conſulted with his flattering aſtrologers, who ſpake of theſe comets unto the King, as Daniel ſometimes did of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, Dan. iv. 19. "My lord, the dream is to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof unto thine enemies"; for his aſtrologers told him, that he needed not trouble himſelf with the thought thereof, for it concerned other places and people, not him nor his. But not long after this, their ſeaſon of rain (before ſpoken of) which was never known to fail 'till then, failed them, and this cauſed ſuch a famine and mortality in the ſouth parts of his empire, that it did very much unpeo-

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ple it; and in the northern part thereof (whither the Mogul then repaired) his third ſon, Sultan Caroom, raiſed and kept together very great forces, and ſtood upon his guard, and would not diſband 'till his father had delivered his eldeſt ſon, Sultan Coobſeroo, into his hands; and how (when he had him in his power) he uſed him, you ſhall after hear.

In the mean time, take one admirable example of a very groſs flatterer, but a great favourite of that King, who was noted above others of that nation to be a great neglecter of God, believing it religion enough to pleaſe the Mogul his maſter. This man was a ſoldier, of an approved valour; but upon a time, he ſitting in dalliance with one of his women, ſhe pluckt a hair from his breaſt (which grew about his nipple) in wantonneſs, without the leaſt thought of doing him hurt; but the little wound that ſmall and unparalleled inſtrument of death made, preſently began to feſter, and in a ſhort time after became a cancer, incurable: in fine, when he ſaw that he muſt needs die, he uttered theſe words, which are worth the remembering of all that ſhall ever hear them, ſaying,—"Who would not have thought but that I, who have been ſo long bred a ſoldier, ſhould have died in the face of mine enemy, either by a ſword, or a launce, or an arrow, or a bullet, or by ſome ſuch inſtrument of death; but now (though too late) I am forced to confeſs that there

there is a great God above, whoſe majeſty I have ever deſpiſed, that needs no bigger launce than a hair to kill an Atheiſt, or a deſpiſer of his Majeſty; and ſo deſiring that thoſe his laſt words might be told unto the King his maſter, died.

'Till ſin into the world had made a breach,
Death was not heard of; ever ſince in each
Poor creature may it, doth it couchant lie;
The kernel of a grape kills one; a fly
Another choaks; by a corrupted breath
Of air one dies; and others have found death
In a ſmall bit of meat; or by a corn
Too cloſely cut; or by a prick of thorn.
When death comes arm'd with God's imperial word,
A hair can pierce as deep as ſharpeſt ſword.

The Mogul never advanceth any, but he gives them a new name, and theſe of ſome pretty ſignification; as Pharoah did unto Joſeph, when he made him great in his court, Gen. xli. 15. The new names (I ſay) that the Mogul gives unto thoſe he advanceth and favours, are ſignificant; as Aſaph-Chan, the gathering, or rich lord, whoſe ſiſter the Mogul married, and ſhe was his moſt beloved wife, and her brother's marvellous great riches anſwered his name, for he died worth many millions, (as I have been informed) the greateſt ſubject, I believe, for wealth, that ever the world had; ſo another of the Mogul's grandees was called Mahobet-Chan, the beloved

lord;

lord; another Chan-Jahan, the lord of my heart; another Chan-Allaam, the lord of the world; another Chan-Channa, the lord of lords; he called his chief phyſician Mocrob-Chan, the lord of my health; and many other names like theſe his grandees had, which at my being there belonged to his moſt numerous court.

And further, for their titles of honour there, all the King's children are called Sultans, or princes; his daughters Sultana's, or princeſſes; the next title is Nabob, equivalent to a duke; the next Channa, or double lord, or earl; the next Chan, a lord; ſo Meirſa ſignifies a knight, that hath been a general, or commander in the wars; Umbra a captain; Haddee, a cavalier, or ſoldier on horſeback; who have all allowed them means by the King (as before) proportionable for the ſupports of their honours, and titles, and names.

His officers of ſtate are his treaſurers, who receive his revenues in his ſeveral provinces, and take care for the payment of his great penſions, which, when they are due, are paid without any delay: there his chief eunuchs, which command the reſt of them, take care for the ordering of his houſe, and are ſtewards and controllers of it; his ſecretaries, the maſters of his elephants; and the maſters of his tents are other of his great officers; and ſo are the keepers of his wardrobe, who are entruſted

entruſted with his plate and jewels. To theſe I may add, thoſe which take care of his cuſtoms for goods brought into his empire, as for commodities carried thence; but theſe are not many, becauſe his ſea-ports are but few. The cuſtoms paid in his ports are not high, that ſtrangers of all nations may have the greater encouragement to trade there with him; but as he expects money from all ſtrangers that trade there, ſo it is a fault he will not pardon (as before) for any to carry any quantity of ſilver thence. He hath other officers that ſpread over his empire, to exact monies out of all the labours of that people, who make the curious manufactures: ſo that like a great tree, he receives nouriſhment from every, even the leaſt roots that grow under his ſhadow; and therefore though his penſions are exceedingly great (as before) they are nothing comparable to his much greater revenues.

By reaſon of that country's immoderate heat, our Engliſh cloth is not fit to make habits for that people; that of it which is ſold there, is moſt of it for colour red, and this they employ for the moſt part to make coverings for their elephants and horſes, and to cover their coaches, the King himſelf taking a very great part thereof, whoſe payments are very good, only the merchant muſt get the hands of ſome of his chief officers to his bill, appointed for ſuch diſpatches, which

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are obtained as ſoon as deſired. And this the King doth to prevent the abuſes of particular and ſingle perſons.

And now that I may preſent my reader with the further glory of this great King, I ſhall lead him where he may take a view,

SECTION XXVII.

Of the Mogul's Leſkar, or Camp Royal, &c.

WHICH indeed is very glorious, as all muſt confeſs, who have ſeen the infinite number of tents, or pavilions, there pitched together, which in a plain make a ſhew equal to a moſt ſpacious and glorious city. Theſe tents, I ſay, when they are all together, cover ſuch a great quantity of ground, that I believe it is five Engliſh miles at the leaſt, from one ſide of them to the other, very beautiful to behold from ſome hill, where they may be all ſeen at once.

They write of Zerxes, that when from ſuch a place he took a view of his very numerous army, conſiſting at the leaſt of three hundred thouſand men, he wept, ſaying, that in leſs than the compaſs of one hundred years, not one of that great mighty hoſt would be alive. And to ſee ſuch company then together, of all ſorts of people (and I ſhall give a good reaſon preſently why I believe that mixt company of men, women, and children, may make up ſuch

ſuch a huge number, as before I named, if not exceed it) and to conſider that death will ſeize upon them all, within ſuch a ſpace of time, and that the ſecond death hath ſuch a power over them, is a thing of more ſad conſideration.

Now to make it appear that the number of people of all ſorts is ſo exceeding great, which here get and keep together in the Mogul's Leſkar, or camp royal; firſt, there are one hundred thouſand ſoldiers, which always wait about that King, (as before obſerved) and all his grandees have a very great train of followers and ſervants to attend them there, and ſo have all other men according to their ſeveral qualities; and all theſe carry their wives and children, and whole family with them, which muſt needs amount to a very exceeding great number. And further to demonſtrate this, when that King removes from one place to another, for the ſpace of twelve hours, a broad paſſage is continually fill'd with paſſengers, and elephants, horſes, dromedaries, camels, coaches, aſſes, and oxen, (on which the meaner ſort of men and women, with their little children, ride) ſo full as they may well paſs one by the other. Now in ſuch a broad paſſage, and in ſuch a long time, a very great number of people, the company continually moving on forward, may paſs.

Thus this people moving on from place to place, it may be ſaid of them, what Salvian ſpeaks

ſpeaks of Iſrael, while they were in their journey to the land of promiſe, that it was *ambulans reſpublica*, a walking common-wealth. And therefore that ancient people of God were called Hebrews, which ſignified paſſengers; and their dwelling ſo in tents, ſignified thus much to all the people of God in all ſucceeding ages, that here they dwell in moveable habitations, having no continuing city here, but they muſt look for one, and that is above.

It is obſerved of Cain, that he (a wicked man) was a tiller of the ground, (though that calling of itſelf deſerves much commendation) or as a man faſtened to the earth, whereas Abel his brother (a man fearing God) was a ſhepherd, which is a moving rolling occupation, from one place to another; thou telleſt my flittings, ſaith David. Here we often ſhift our places, and our company, and muſt do ſo, our buſineſſes carrying us up and down, to and fro; but our felicity hereafter ſhall conſiſt in reſt, in not changing for ever after, either our company or place; but when the godly man ſhall accomplish as an hireling his day, when his work, which God hath appointed him here to do, is done and finiſhed, he ſhall lie down in peace, and receive his penny, and enjoy his reward.

The tents pitch'd in that Leſkar, or camp royal, are for the moſt part white, like the cloathing of thoſe which own them. But the Mogul's

Mogul's tents are red, reared up upon poles, higher by much than the other. They are placed in the midſt of the camp, where they take up a very large compaſs of ground, and may be ſeen every way; and they muſt needs be very great, to afford room in them for himſelf, his wives, children, women, eunuchs, &c.

In the fore front, or outward part, or court within his tent, there is a very large room for acceſs to him, 'twixt ſeven and nine of the clock at night, which (as before) is called his Goozúlcan.

His tents are encompaſſed round with Canats, which are like our ſcreens, to fold up together; thoſe Canats are about ten feet high, made of narrow ſtrong callico, and lined with the ſame, ſtiffened at every breadth with a cane; but they are ſtrongeſt lined on their outſide by a very great company of arm'd ſoldiers, that keep cloſe about them night and day. The tents of his great men are likewiſe large, placed round about his. All of them, throughout the whole Leſkar, reared up in ſuch a due and conſtant order, that when we remove from place to place, we can go as directly to thoſe moveable dwellings, as if we continued ſtill in fixed and ſtanding habitations; taking our direction from ſeveral ſtreets and *Bazars*, or market-places, every one pitched upon every remove alike, upon ſuch or ſuch a ſide of the King's tents, as if they had not been at all removed.

The Mogul (which I ſhould have obſerved before) hath ſo much wealth, and conſequently ſo much power, by reaſon of his marvellous great multitudes of fighting men, which he always keeps in arms, commanding at all times as many of them as he pleaſe; that as the Moabites truly ſaid of Iſrael, (while they had almighty God fighting with them and for them) ſo it may be ſaid of him (if God reſtrain him not) that his huge companies are able to lick up all that are round about him, as the ox licketh up the graſs of the field, Numb. xxii. 4.

When that mighty King removes from one place to another, he cauſeth drums to be beat about midnight, which is a ſignal token of his removing. He removes not far at one time, ſometimes ten miles, but uſually a leſs diſtance, according to the beſt convenience he may have for water; there being ſuch an infinite company of men, and other creatures, whoſe drink is water, that in a little time it may be as truly ſaid of them, as it was of that mighty hoſt of Sennacherib, that Aſſyrian monarch, Iſa. xxxvii. 25. that they are able to drink up rivers.

But when the place he removed to afforded plenty of good water, he would uſually ſtay there three or four days, or more; and when he thus reſted in his progreſs, would go abroad to find out paſtimes; to which end he always carried with him divers kinds of hawks, dogs,

dogs, and leopards, which (as before) they train up to hunt with; and being thus provided for variety of ſports, would fly at any thing in the air, or ſeize on any creature he deſired to take on the earth.

The Mogul, when he was at Mandoa, (which was invironed with great woods, as before was obſerved) ſometimes with ſome of his grandees, and a very great company beſide of Perſian and Tartarian horſemen, his ſoldiers, (which are ſtout daring men) would attempt to take ſome young wild elephants found in theſe woods, which he took in ſtrong toils made for that purpoſe; which taken, were mann'd and made fit for his ſervice. In which hunting they likewiſe purſued on horſeback lions, and other wild beaſts, and kill'd ſome of them with their bows and carbines, and launces.

An heroic paſtime, or rather an high and dangerous attempt becoming great perſonages, who, if their honour and greatneſs ballance, will not be taken up with ſmall things; *Imperia dura tolle, quid virtus erit*, things difficult in their doing, make them more honourable when done; *aquila non capit muſcas*, gnats and flies are not purſued by eagles.

In tauros Lybici ruunt leones,
Non ſunt papilionibus moleſti. HOR.

Thus on chac'd bulls the Lybian lion hies,
But troubles not the painted butterflies.

I waiting upon my Lord Ambaſſador two years and part of a third, and travelling with him in progreſs with that King, in the moſt temperate months there, 'twixt September and April, we were in one of our progreſſes 'twixt Mandoa and Amadavaz nineteen days, making but ſhort journies in a wilderneſs, where (by a very great company ſent before us, to make thoſe paſſages and places fit to receive us) a way was cut out and made even, broad enough for our convenient paſſage; and in the places where we pitched our tents, a great compaſs of ground rid, and made plain for them, by grubbing up a number of trees and buſhes; yet there we went as readily to our tents, the ſame order being ſtill obſerved in the pitching of them, as we did when they were ſet up in the plains; but that which here ſeemed unto me to be moſt ſtrange, was, that notwithſtanding our marvellous great company of men, women, and children, there together, that muſt all be fed, and the very great number of other creatures that did eat corn, as we never there wanted water, ſo we had ſo many victuallers with us, and ſo much proviſion continually brought in unto us, that we never felt there the want of any thing beſide, but had it at low rates as in other places.

The Mogul's wives and women, when they are removed from place to place, are carried in coaches, (ſuch as were before deſcribed) made up cloſe, or in palankees on men's ſhoulders,

ders, or elſe on elephants, in pretty receptacles, ſurrounded with curtains, which ſtand up like low and little turrets upon their backs; and ſome of the meaner ſort ride in cradles, hanging on the ſides of dromedaries, all covered cloſe, and attended by eunuchs, who have many ſoldiers which go before them to clear the way as they paſs, they taking it very ill if any (though they cannot ſee them) preſume ſo much as to look towards them; and therefore, though I could never ſee any of them, I ſhall here take the liberty to ſpeak ſomewhat I have heard, and do believe.

SECTION XXVIII.

Of the Mogul's Wives and Women, and ſomething of his Children, &c.

WHOM I conceive to be women of good features, though for their colour very ſwarthy, which that people may call beauty, it being the complexion of them all, as the crow thinks his bird faireſt; but (as before) I never obſerved any crooked or deformed perſon of either ſex amongſt them. For the honeſty of thoſe great men's wives and women, there is ſuch a quick eye of jealouſy continually over them, that they are made ſo by force, though (as they ſay) they are never much regarded by thoſe great ones, after the very firſt and prime of their youth is paſt.

For that great monarch, the Mogul, in the choice of his wives and women, he was guided more by his eye and fancy, than by any reſpect had to his honour, for he took not the daughters of neighbouring princes, but of his own ſubjects, and there preferred that which he looked upon as beauty, before any thing elſe.

He was married to four wives, and had concubines and women beſide, all which were at his command, enough to make up their number a full thouſand, as they there confidently affirmed; and that he might raiſe up his beaſtly and unnatural luſts even to the very height, he kept boys, as before, &c.

His moſt beloved wife (when I lived at his court) he called Noor-Mahal, which ſignified the light of the court; and to the other of his wives, and women which he moſt loved, he gave new names unto them, and ſuch names as he moſt fancied.

For his wife I firſt named, he took her out of the duſt, from a very mean family; but however, ſhe made ſuch a thorough conqueſt on his affections, that ſhe engroſſed almoſt all his love, did what ſhe pleaſed in the government of that empire, where ſhe advanced her brother Aſaph-Chan, and other her neareſt relations, to the greateſt places of command, honour, and profit, in that vaſt monarchy.

Her brother Aſaph-Chan was preſently made one of the ſtars of the firſt magnitude

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that shined in that Indian court; and when he had once gotten, so kept the Mogul's favour, by the assistance of his sister Noor-Mahal, that by the pensions given, and many offices bestowed on him, he heaped up a mass of treasure above all belief, (as before) and married his daughter unto Sultan Caroom, who is now King.

The Mogul, of all his so many wives and concubines, had but six children, five sons and one daughter. The names he gave his children, and others, were names that proceeded from counsel (as he imagined) rather than chance. His eldest son was called Sultan Coobsurroo, which signified the prince with the good face; his person and beauty answered his name, for he was a prince of a very lovely presence. His second son he called Sultan Parveen, prince of the Pleiades, or of the sweet influences of the Pleiades. His third son (now King, though that great dignity was never intended to him by his father) was called Sultan Caroom, or the prince of bounty. His fourth Sultan Shahat, or the prince of fame. His fifth and last son was called by him Sultan Tauct; Tauct, in the Persian tongue, signifies a throne; and he was named so by the King his father, because the first hour he sat peaceably on his throne, there was news brought him of that son's birth.

The first son of that King, which he hath by any of his married wives, by prerogative of birth inherits that empire; the eldest son

of every man (as before) called there the great brother. And he that inherits that monarchy; doth not openly slay his younger brothers, as the Turks do; yet it is observed, that few younger brothers of those Indostan Kings have long survived their fathers.

Yet notwithstanding that long continued custom there, for the eldest son to succeed the father in that great empire; Achabar-Sha, father of that late King, upon high and just displeasure taken against his son, for climbing up unto the bed of Anarkelee, his father's most beloved wife, (whose name signified the kernel of a pomegranate) and for other base actions of his, which stirred up his father's high displeasure against him, resolved to break that ancient custom; and therefore often in his life-time protested, that not he, but his grand-child, Sultan Coobsurroo, whom he always kept in his court, should succeed him in that empire.

And now by the way, the manner of that Achabar-Sha's death (as they report it in India) is worthy observation. That wicked King was wont often to give unto some of his nobles (whom upon secret displeasure he meant to destroy) pills prepared with poison, that should presently put them into incurable diseases: but the last time he went about to practise that bloody treachery, he died himself by his own instrument of death; for then having two pills in his hand, the one like the other,

other, the one cordial for himself, the other corrosive, for one of his grandees he meant to purge, and flattering him with many proffers of courtesy before he gave him the pill, that he might swallow it down the better, at last having held them both in the palm of his hand long, by a mistake took the poisoned pill himself, and gave him the other; which pill put the King immediately into a mortal flux of blood, which in a few days put an end to his life in his city Lahore.

——*Neque enim lex justior ulla est,*
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

When some to kill, most deadly engines frame,
'Tis just that they themselves be caught i'the same.

Achabar-Sha thus dead, Sultan Coobsurroo his grand-child, then aged about twenty years, took his opportunity at the first bound, and ascended the regal throne at Lahore, where by a general acclamation of that very great and populous city he was pronounced and acknowledged King. His father, the late Mogul, was thus acknowledged at Agra. Two great armies were presently levied, and met together to decide the controversy; and the generality of the people within that empire, thinking it meet that the father should be King before the son, clave by far more to him than to his son, by which means Sultan Coob-

Coobſurroo was defeated and taken priſoner, and a very great many of young gallants with him; whereof his father immediately after cauſed to be impaled, or put upon ſtakes (that moſt cruel and tormenting death) eight hundred in two ſeveral ranks in one day, without the city Lahore, and then carried his ſon moſt diſgracefully through them, bidding him to behold the men in whom he truſted. His ſon told him that he ſhould have ſerved him ſo, and ſpared the other, who did nothing in that action but upon his command; his father replied that he could ſerve him ſo preſently, if he ſo pleaſed; his ſon will'd and deſired him ſo to do, telling his father that he had no joy at all to live, after the beholding of ſo many gallant men dead. Notwithſtanding the King ſpared his life, caſting him into priſon, where his eyes were ſealed up (by ſomething put before them which might not be taken off) for the ſpace of three years; after which time that ſeal was taken away, that he might with freedom enjoy the light, though not his liberty. And after his father had taken him out of priſon, he kept him always near about him, but with a very ſtrong guard upon him; ſo that he following the King his father in his progreſſes, we ſometimes ſaw him. And once he called my Lord Ambaſſador to him as we paſſed by him, aſking him many queſtions, as how far diſtant our country was from them, and what we brought thither, what we car-

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ried thence, and how the King his father had uſed him ſince his arrival there; whether or no he had not beſtowed on him ſome great gifts? The Ambaſſador told him that his buſineſs there was to obtain a free trade for his nation the Engliſh; and that being granted him, he had reward enough. The Prince reply'd that this could not be deny'd us, we coming ſo far to trade there with him; and the Prince further aſked him how long he had been there; the Ambaſſador told him about two years; the Prince replied again, that it was a very great ſhame for the ſucceſſor of Tamerlane, who had ſuch infinite rules, to ſuffer a man of his quality to come ſo far unto him, and to live ſo long about him, and not to give him ſome royal gift; and he further added, that for himſelf he was a priſoner, and therefore could do him no good, but he would pray for him, and ſo he departed.

For that Prince, he was a gentleman of a very lovely preſence and fine carriage, ſo exceedingly beloved of the common people, that as Suetonius writes of Titus, he was *amor & deliciæ, &c.* the very love and delight of them; aged then about thirty-five years. He was a man who contented himſelf with one wife, which with all love and care accompanied him in all his ſtreights, and therefore he would never take any wife but herſelf, though the liberty of his religion did admit of plurality.

It was generally believed to be the intent of his father (for he would often promiſe ſo)

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to make this prince, his firſt-born, his ſucceſſor, though for the preſent, out of ſome jealouſy, (his being ſo much beloved by the people) he denied his liberty.

His father's love, brings upon him the extreme hatred of his brother Caroom, the Mogul's third ſon, who then lived in very great pomp and ſplendor at that court, aiming at that empire; to which end he put many jealouſies into his father's head, (now grown in years) concerning his brother Coobſurroo, and that his father might live more ſecure, and out of all preſent fear of him, if he ſo pleaſed; upon which inſinuations, partly by force, (as I obſerved before) and partly by intreaty of friends about the King, he was by the King put into the cruel hands of his brother Caroom; who told his father that he would have both his eyes upon him, and further ſo provide, that he ſhould never have cauſe to fear him any more. And he was as good as his word; for preſently after he had got poſſeſſion of him, (though his father had given him as great a charge as poſſibly he could, to uſe him well, and to keep him honourably, and by no means to hurt him, which was all promiſed by Caroom to be faithfully obſerved) he cauſed his ſecond brother, Sultan Parveen, to be poiſoned, and not long after that ſtrangled that moſt gallant Prince his eldeſt brother; which did ſo trouble his father, that the grief thereof, as it was ſtrongly believed, ſhortened his days; who not long after this

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(much against his mind) made room for that murderer to succeed him in that empire; who laid the foundation of his high advancement in the blood of his brothers; and rather than he would have missed it, would certainly have made a way through the blood of his father likewise; all laws of honesty, of nature, being by him thrown down, trampled under foot, forgotten, and made void, to compass and gain his most unjust ends; as if he resolved to practise that language which Polynices, out of the height of ambition spake in the tragedy.

——— Pro regno velim
Patriam, penates, conjugem flammis dare;
Imperia Precio quolibet constant bene.
SEN. Trag.

Fire on my gods, wife, country, for a crown;
An empire can the dearest price weigh down.

But whatsoever he might think, I am sure that the holy scriptures are stored with examples, that have fallen heavy upon usurpers and resisters of lawful authority; as upon Corah and his confederates, swallowed up quick into the earth; upon Zimri, burnt in his palace, which he had but immediately before usurped; upon Absalom, hanged by his hairy scalp, as Achitophel in a halter.

Certainly they, whoever they be, who come to rule upon hard and unjust terms, shall first or last live to rue and to repent their bargain; as Ahab did in another case, after he had

had killed and taken poſſeſſion: And as the Emperors of this large ſpreading and far extended monarchy, have been like pikes in a great pond, that eat up all the leſſer fiſhes about them, which can make no reſiſtance; by which they have enlarged themſelves like Hell by a ſtrong hand, and have gained what they have by force, and by force keep what they have gotten, ruling by an arbitrary and illimitted power; ſo time in probability will ravel and rent all again in pieces; for

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipſos imperium eſt Jovis. HOR.

Over ſlav'd men dread powers do reign,
God over them is ſovereign.

I ſhall add but a few things more to this relation, before I conclude it: And one ſhall be to give my reader a taſte, but very briefly,

SECTION XXIX.

Of the Manner of the Stile or Writing of that Court.

WHICHI ſhall here inſert, and in ſome meaſure ſhew, by a copy of a letter written by the great Mogul unto King James, in the Perſian tongue, here faithfully tranſlated; which was as follows:

UNTO

UNTO a King rightly deſcended from his anceſtors, bred in military affairs, cloathed with honour and juſtice, a commander worthy of all command, ſtrong and conſtant in the religion which the great prophet Chriſt did teach King James, whoſe love hath bred ſuch an impreſſion in my thoughts, as ſhall never be forgotten; but as the ſmell of amber, or as a garden of fragrant flowers, whoſe beauty and odour is ſtill increaſing; ſo be aſſured my love ſhall ſtill grow and increaſe with yours.

The letters which you ſent me in behalf of your merchants, I have received; whereby I reſt ſatisfied of your tender love towards me; deſiring you not to take it ill, that I have not wrote to you heretofore; this preſent letter I ſend you to renew our loves, and herewith to certify to you, that I have ſent forth my Firmaunes throughout all my countries, to this effect, that if any Engliſh ſhips or merchants ſhall arrive in any of my ports, my people ſhall permit and ſuffer them to do what they pleaſe freely, in their merchandizing cauſes, aiding and aſſiſting them in all occaſion of injuries that ſhall be offered them, that the leaſt cauſe of diſcourteſy be not done unto them, that they may be as free, or freer than my own people.

And as now, and formerly, I have received from you divers tokens of your love; ſo I ſhall ſtill deſire your mindfulneſs of me by ſome novelties from your countries, as an argument of friendſhip betwixt us; for ſuch is the cuſtom of princes here.

As

As for your merchants, I have given expreſs order throughout all my dominions, to ſuffer them to buy, ſell, tranſport, and carry away at their pleaſure, without the let or hindrance of any perſon whatſoever, all ſuch goods and merchandizes as they ſhall deſire to buy; and let this my letter as fully ſatisfy you in deſired peace and love, as if my own ſon had been the meſſenger to ratify the ſame.

And if any in my countries, not fearing God, nor obeying their King, or any other void of religion, ſhould endeavour to be an inſtrument to break this league of friendſhip, I would ſend my ſon Sultan Caroom, a ſoldier approved in the wars, to cut him off, that no obſtacle may hinder the continuance and increaſe of our affections.

Here are likewiſe the compliments of two other letters of later date, ſent home by Sir Thomas Row; whereof the firſt doth thus begin:

WHEN *your Majeſty ſhall open this letter, let your royal heart be as freſh as a ſmall garden, let all people make reverence at your gate; let your throne be advanced higher amongſt the greatneſs of the Kings of the prophet Jeſus, let your Majeſty be the greateſt, and all monarchs derive their wiſdom and counſel from your breaſt, as from a fountain, that the law of the majeſty of Jeſus may revive and flouriſh under your protection.*

The

The letters of love and friendſhip which you ſent me, the preſent tokens of your good affection towards me, I have received by the hands of your ambaſſador Sir Thomas Row, who well deſerveth to be your truſted ſervant, delivered to me in an acceptable and happy hour, upon which mine eyes were ſo fixed, that I could not eaſily remove them unto any other objects; and have accepted them with great joy and delight, &c.

The laſt letter had this beginning:

HOW *gracious is your Majeſty, whoſe greatneſs God preſerve. As upon a roſe in a garden, ſo are mine eyes fixed upon you: God maintain your eſtate, that your monarchy may proſper and be augmented, and that you may obtain all your deſires worthy the greatneſs of your renown; and as your heart is noble and upright, ſo let God give you a glorious reign, becauſe you ſtrongly defend the law of the majeſty of Jeſus, which God made yet more flouriſhing, for that it was confirmed by miracles, &c.*

What followed in both theſe letters, was to teſtify his care and love towards the Engliſh. Now all theſe letters were written in the Perſian tongue, the court language there, and their copies were ſent to the Ambaſſador, that he might get them tranſlated. The originals, rolled up ſomewhat long, were covered with cloth of gold, ſealed up on both

ends, the fashion in that court and country to make up letters, though they be not all cloathed there in such a glorious dress.

In which letters notice may be taken (what was observed before) how respectfully that King speaks of our blessed Saviour Christ. And here it will not be impertinent to speak something of those who pretend to enlarge the name of Jesus Christ in those parts, I mean,

SECTION XXX.

Of the Jesuits sent thither by their Superiors to convert People unto Christianity, &c.

IN that empire all religions are tolerated, which makes the tyrannical government there more easy to be endured. The Mogul would speak well of all of them; saying, that a man might be happy and safe in the profession of any religion; and therefore would say that the Mahometan religion was good, the Christian religion good, and the rest good; therefore the ministers of any religion find regard and esteem amongst the people. I shall speak something to this, from my own particular usage there, then very young, while I lived in those parts; yet when I was first there brought into the presence of the Mogul, immediately after my arrival at his court, I standing near the Ambassador, (for no man there

there of the greateſt quality whatſoever is at any time ſuffered to ſit in his preſence) and but a little diſtance from that King, in his gozulcan, he ſent one of his grandees to me, to let me know, that the King bad me welcome thither, that I ſhould have a free acceſs to him whenever I pleaſed, and if I would aſk him any thing he would give it me, (tho' I never did aſk, nor he give) and very many times afterward, when waiting on my Lord Ambaſſador, I appeared before him, he would ſtill ſhew tokens of civility and reſpect to me; and I never went abroad amongſt that people, but thoſe that met me, upon this conſideration, that I was a Padræ, (for ſo they call'd me) a father or miniſter, they would manifeſt in their behaviour towards me much eſteem unto me.

But for the Jeſuits there.—There was one of that order in Goa, (a city of the Portugueſe, lying in the ſkirts of India) of very much fame and renown, called Jeronymo Xavere, ſent for by Achabar-Sha, the late King's father, in the year 1596, to argue before him the doctrine of Chriſtianity; there being always preſent a Moolaa, or Mahometan prieſt, and a third perſon, who followed no preciſe rule, but what the light of nature meerly led him to; and theſe two were to object what they could againſt his reaſoning.

The Jeſuit in the Mogul's own language (which was a great advantage to him) began

to ſpeak firſt of the creation, and then of the fall of man, in which the Mahometans agree with us.

Then he laid down divers grounds to bottom his reaſonings on.

That man by creation was made a moſt excellent creature, endued with the light of reaſon, which no other ſublunary creature beſides himſelf had. Then,

That man thus endued, muſt have ſome rule or law to walk by, which he could not preſcribe to himſelf, and therefore it muſt be given him from above.

That this law was firſt given unto man from God, and afterward confirmed by prophets ſent into the world in divers ages from God.

That this law thus delivered muſt needs be one law, in all things agreeing in itſelf;—and ſo did not the law of Mahomet.

That this thus delivered was moſt conformable to right reaſon;—and ſo was not the law of Mahomet.

That man, fallen from God by ſin, was not able to recover himſelf from that fall, and therefore it was neceſſary that there ſhould be one, more than a man, to do it for him;—and that that one could not be Mahomet.

That this one was Chriſt, God as well as man; God to ſatisfy (the Mahometans themſelves confeſſing that Chriſt was the breath of God) and man to ſuffer death as he did.

That Chriſt the ſon of God coming into the world

world, about that great work of ſatisfying God's anger againſt man for ſin, it was neceſſary that he ſhould live a poor and laborious life here on earth, (at which the Mahometans much ſtumble) and not a life that was full of pomp, pleaſure, and delicacy.

That the goſpel of Chriſt, and other holy books of ſcripture, which the Chriſtians retain and walk by, contain nothing in them that is corrupt and depraved;—but there is very much to be found in their Alcoran which is ſo.

That the great worth and worthineſs ſhining in the perſon of Chriſt, was by far more excellent than any thing obſervable in Mahomet; for they themſelves confeſs that Chriſt lived without ſin, when Mahomet himſelf acknowledgeth that he had been a filthy perſon.

That the feigned, fooliſh, and ridiculous miracles, which they ſay were done by Mahomet, were nothing comparable to the miracles done by Chriſt; who, as the Mahometans confeſs, did greater miracles than ever were done before or ſince him.

That there was a great deal of difference in the manner of promulgating the goſpel of Chriſt into the world, and the introducing of the laws of Mahomet.

That Chriſt hath purchaſed Heaven for all that believe in him; and that Hell is prepared for all others that do not rely on him, and on him alone for ſalvation.

There were many more particulars beſides theſe, which that Jeronymo Xavere laid down

before the Mogul, to ground his arguments on; which that King heard patiently at ſeveral times during the ſpace of one year and a half; but at laſt he ſent him away back again to Goa honourably, with ſome good gifts beſtowed on him, telling him as Felix did Paul, after he had reaſoned before him, "that he would call for him again when he had a convenient time," Acts xxiv. 25. Which time or ſeaſon neither of them ever both found afterward.

Theſe particulars which I have here inſerted (with many more I might have added to them, upon all of which that Jeronymo Xavere enlarged himſelf before the Mogul in his arguings before him) were given unto me in Latin by Franciſco Corſi, another Jeſuit reſident at that court, while I was there, and long before that time. And further, I have been there told by other people profeſſing Chriſtianity in that empire, that there was ſuch a diſpute there held, and for my part I do believe it.

For that Franciſco Corſi he was a Florentine by birth, aged about fifty years, who (if he were indeed what he ſeemed to be) was a man of a ſevere life, yet of a fair and affable diſpoſition: he lived at that court as an agent for the Portugueſe, and had not only free acceſs unto that King, but alſo encouragement and help by gifts, which he ſometimes beſtowed on him.

When this Jeſuit came firſt to be acquainted with my Lord Ambaſſador, he told him that they

they were both by profeſſion Chriſtians, though there were a vaſt difference betwixt them in their profeſſing it: and as he ſhould not go about to reconcile the Ambaſſador to them; ſo he told him that it would be labour in vain if he ſhould attempt to reconcile him to us. Only he deſired, that there might be a fair correſpondence betwixt them, but no diſputes. And further his deſire was, that thoſe wide differences 'twixt the church of Rome and us might not be made there to appear, that Chriſt might not ſeem by thoſe differences to be divided amongſt men profeſſing Chriſtianity, which might be a very main obſtacle and hindrance unto his great deſign and endeavour, for which he was ſent thither, to convert people to Chriſtianity there: telling my Lord Ambaſſador further, that he ſhould be ready to do him all good offices of love and ſervice there; and ſo he was.

After his firſt acquaintance, he viſited us often, uſually once a week. And as thoſe of that ſociety, in other parts of the world, are very great intelligencers, ſo was he there, knowing all news which was ſtirring, and might be had, which he communicated to us.

And he would tell us many ſtories beſides; one of which, if true, is very remarkable; and it was thus; there are a race of people in Eaſt-India, the men of which race have (if he told us true) their right legs extraordinary great and miſhapen, their left like other mens;

now he told us that they were the poſterity of thoſe who ſtamped St. Thomas the Apoſtle to death, who came thither to preach the goſpel, and that ever ſince the men of that race have, and only they of that nation, that great deformity upon them. Some few people I have there ſeen, of whom this ſtory is told; but whether that deformity be like Gehiza's leproſy, hereditary, and if ſo, whether it fell upon that people upon the occaſion before named, I am yet to learn.

The Jeſuits in Eaſt-India (for he was not alone there) have liberty to convert any they can work upon, unto Chriſtianity, &c. the Mogul hath thus far declared, that it ſhall be lawful for any one, perſuaded ſo in conſcience, to become a Chriſtian, and that he ſhould not by ſo doing loſe his favour.

Upon which I have one thing here to inſert, which I had there by report, (yet I was bid to believe it and report it for a truth) concerning a gentleman of quality, and a ſervant of the great Mogul, who upon ſome conviction wrought upon him (as they ſay) would needs be baptized, and become a Chriſtian. The King hearing of this convert, ſent for him, and at firſt with many cruel threats commanded him to renounce that his new profeſſion; the man reply'd that he was moſt willing to ſuffer any thing in that cauſe which the King could inflict.

The Mogul then began to deal with him in another way, aſking him why he thought himſelf

himſelf wiſer than his forefathers, who lived and died Mahometans; and further added many promiſes of riches and honour, if he would return to his Mahometiſm; he reply'd again, (as they ſay, for I have all this by tradition) that he would not accept of any thing in the world ſo to do; the Mogul wond'ring at his conſtancy, told him, that if he could have frightened or bought him out of his new profeſſion, he would have made him an example for all waverers; but now that he perceived that his reſolution indeed was to be a Chriſtian, and he bid him ſo continue, and with a reward diſcharged him.

The late Mogul, about the beginning of his reign, cauſed a temple to be built in Agra, his chief city, for the Jeſuits, wherein two of his younger brother's ſons were ſolemnly baptized, and delivered into their hands to be trained up in Chriſtianity. The young gentlemen growing to ſome ſtature (after they had had their tuition for ſome years) deſired them to provide them wives out of Chriſtendom fitting their birth; in which not having ſudden content, they gave up their crucifixes again into the Jeſuits hands, and ſo left them; who had theſe conjectures upon this their revolt, that either the King, their uncle, cauſed them to be baptiſed, to make them more odious to the Mahometans, being ſo near of his blood; or elſe it was his plot to get them beautiful wives out of Europe, which himſelf meant to take if he had liked them.

The

The Jeſuit I laſt named, Franciſco Corſi, upon a time at our being there, having his houſe among very many more conſumed by a ſudden fire, it ſo was that his wooden croſs ſet on a pole near the ſide of his houſe, was not (as he ſaid) conſumed. Upon which he preſently repaired to that court, carried that croſs with him, and told the King thereof. The Prince Sultan Caroome, who was no favourer of the Chriſtians, being then preſent, and hearing him talk how his croſs was preſerved, derided him, ſaying that it was one of his fabulous miracles; and further added, that he would have a fire preſently made before the King, whereinto he would have the croſs caſt, and if it conſumed not, his father, himſelf, and all the people there, would preſently become Chriſtians; but if it did, himſelf ſhould be burnt with it. The Jeſuit not willing to put himſelf upon ſo ſudden and ſo hot a trial, anſwered that he durſt not tempt God, who was not tyed to times, and it might be that almighty God would never ſhew that people that infinite favour to make them Chriſtians; or if he had ſuch a great mercy for them in ſtore, it might be, that the time of manifeſting it was not yet come; and therefore, if he ſhould now ſubmit to that trial, and almighty God not pleaſe to ſhew a further and a preſent miracle, his religion would ſuffer prejudice there for ever after; and therefore he refuſed.

It ſhould ſeem that the Jeſuits there do exceedingly extol the Virgin Mary; which I have

have gathered from poor people there, natives of that country, who have often aſked alms of me, when I ſtirred abroad amongſt them; and whereas one hath deſired me to give him ſome relief for Chriſt's ſake; there are many who have begged it for the Virgin Mary's ſake.

Well known it is, that the Jeſuits there, who like the Phariſees, Mat. xxiii. 25. that would go by ſea and land to make a proſelyte, have ſent into Chriſtendom many large reports of their converſions of Infidels in Eaſt-India; but all theſe boaſtings are but reports; the truth is, that they have there ſpilt the precious water of baptiſm upon ſome few faces, working upon the neceſſity of ſome poor men, who for want of means, which they give them, are contented to wear crucifixes; but for want of knowledge in the doctrine of Chriſtianity are only in name Chriſtians: So that the Jeſuits congregations there, are very thin, conſiſting of ſome Italians, which the Mogul entertains, by great pay given them, to cut his diamonds and other rich ſtones; and of other European ſtrangers which come thither, and ſome few others of the natives before mentioned. So that in one word I ſhall ſpeak this more of the Jeſuits in Eaſt-India, that they have the *templum*, but not *eccleſiam*.

When I lived in thoſe parts, it was my earneſt deſire and daily prayer, to have put my weak hands unto that moſt acceptable, but hard

hard labour of waſhing Moors, that the name of Jeſus Chriſt might have been there enlarged, if God had pleaſed to honour me ſo far, by my endeavours. But there are three main and apparent obſtacles, beſides thoſe which do not appear, that hinder the ſettlement and growth of Chriſtianity in thoſe parts: Firſt, the liberty of the Mahometan religion given the people there in caſe of marriage; ſecondly, the moſt debauch'd lives of many coming thither, or living amongſt them, who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, *per quorum latera patitur evangelium*, by whom the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt is ſcandalized, and exceedingly ſuffers; and laſtly, the hearts of that people are ſo confirmed and harden'd in their own evil old ways, their ears ſo ſealed up, their eyes ſo blinded with unbelief and darkneſs, that only he who hath the key of David, that ſhuts when no man can open, and opens when no man can ſhut, can open to them the door of life.

I have ſome things more, by way of inference, to add unto this relation, which contains matter, as it appears to me.

THE

THE COROLLARIE, AND CONCLUSION.

SECTION XXXI.

Of ſerious and heedful, but ſad Conſiderations; which ſhall be my Corollarie, and Concluſion.

DIVERS particulars have been already obſerved in this relation, and I ſhould have taken notice of many more, but that my deſire was rather to feed and refreſh, than to cram and cloy my reader.

But that I may not ſo do, while I am profeſſing the contrary; for the inferences already put, or thoſe yet to be inſerted, which either neceſſarily or obliquely depend on my ſtory, or thoſe which are remote from it; I ſhall not at all deſpair of my reader's pardon, notwithſtanding my length, if he ſhall ſeriouſly

ouſly peruſe, and carefully improve what he finds here written.

The principal end whereof, was to make this nation aſhamed by many carriages of the Heathens, as the Jews were provoked to jealouſy by them that were not a people, Deut. xxxii. 21. And as God inſtructs man by the ox, aſs, ſtork, turtle, crane, ſwallow, and by the little ant, or piſmire, creatures which are only ſenſible, ſo much more may they be minded of, and learn the practice of ſome duties, from men, people though ſtrange and remote, yet endued with reaſon.

It cannot be denied, but that there is a ſpecial uſe to be made in a clear ſight or interview of nations, perſons, and things; yet he is the beſt obſerver, who ſtrictly and impartially ſo looks about him, that he may ſee through himſelf: that as the beams of the ſun put forth their virtue, and do good by their reflection; ſo in this caſe, the only way for a man to receive good is by reflecting things upon himſelf.

Therefore it was a very good precept, which Plato ſometimes gave unto his ſcholars, when they took notice of any thing bad, or of an evil report which they beheld in others, for every one of them preſently to aſk himſelf this queſtion, *num ego feci tale?* have not I done the like? A Chriſtian muſt put the queſtion further, in aſking his own heart, may not I do the like? for there is nothing ſo bad acted

by

by one, but another left to himſelf may commit the ſame, ſo long as the ſeed and ſpawn of every ſin, the rankneſs of corruption by reaſon of the pravity of man's nature, is lodged in every ſoul.

When the prophet Eliſha, with tears running down his cheeks, told Hazael that he ſhould be King, and being ſo, what miſchief he ſhould do to Iſrael, as that he ſhould ſet their ſtrong holds on fire, ſlay their young men with the ſword, daſh their children, and rip up the women with child; Hazael replies, but what? *num quid ſervus tuus canis?* am I thy ſervant a dog, that I ſhould do this great thing? 2 King. viii. 3. As if he had ſaid, can I be ſo forſaken of humanity, as to do ſuch monſtrous and prodigious things as theſe? yet he lived to do them; and ſo have others, to act ſuch things as they would long before have heard with abhorrency, if they had been told them; doing things in the preſent, which future times would not believe could ever be done. And we ſhall have cauſe by far leſs to wonder at this, if we conſider, that the very beſt in the whole cluſter of mankind, left to themſelves, without curb or rein to keep them in order, may become as baſe, as bad, as the worſt upon earth, as the moſt wretched in Hell.

Yet to ſee nature very much refined in many Heathens, and to obſerve it again to lie ſo mixt amongſt all its lees and dregs, in as many,

if

if not in thouſands more, of thoſe who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, is a thought which cannot paſs by thoſe who love and pray for the increaſe of Chriſt's kingdom, without much ſorrow and ſadneſs to attend upon it.

The conſideration whereof (as of many other things, wherein the due and deſerved commendations, even of thoſe very Heathens, reflects ſhame upon us) enforceth me, leſt I ſhould be like thoſe bottles in Job xxxiv. that were ready to burſt for want of vent; enforceth me, I ſay, having my pen in my hand, to expatiate, and to let out my thoughts much further, I confeſs, than the rules and bounds proper to be obſerved in an hiſtorical narration can well bear: Yet however, I ſhall take liberty in this my laſt ſection, to enquire into ſome cauſes and reaſons, why thoſe Heathens, compared with us, but a wilderneſs, ſhould be ſo fruitful in many moral good performances, and we, compared with them a garden encloſed, ſhould be ſo barren and fruitleſs. And while I ſhall thus enlarge myſelf, I would not be looked upon as one altogether out of my way, though I be here found more at home than abroad, more in England than India.

This narrative, in ſome foregoing paſſages, hath taken notice of ſome Mahometan precepts, as of others delivered by thoſe Heathens, to be as rules for their followers to walk by.

Now for the doctrine of Chriſtianity, which we profeſs, it is that which teacheth a man to look

look for true and eternal happineſs by Chriſt alone, there being no other name under Heaven given amongſt men, whereby they may be ſaved, Acts iv. 12. No way under Heaven, but only by and through Chriſt Jeſus, and by him alone. And therefore we muſt not look after another new way; as for a new Chriſt, a new paſſion, a new reſurrection, or the like. And here reader, let us ſit down a little, and ſuffer our thoughts to be taken up with that, I called before matter of ſerious, and ſad, ay, and of admirable conſideration.

They who have curiouſly ſurveyed the world, and the ſeveral nations which inhabit it, have divided the inhabitants thereof into thirty parts, whereof nineteen are Heathens, ſix are Mahometans, and five are Chriſtians; by which account (and I conceive that there is a good proportion in it) if all the people which poſſeſs the whole face of the earth were numbered, there would be but one in ſix, ſo much as to bear the name of a Chriſtian. And to make up this number, we muſt take in all Chriſt's retainers throughout the world, who do but bear his name, as well as thoſe which be his houſhold ſervants.

As all thoſe poor ſuperſtitious blind Abiſſins, in Ethiopia; as alſo all thoſe which inhabit Georgia, and the two Armenia's, under the tyranny of the Turk, and the King of Perſia, (of whom ſomething before in my firſt ſection) now, with ſome of thoſe poor

ſouls I have conferred, and could never hear any thing from them unto any purpoſe, only they would tell me, they were Chriſtiano's, but why they were ſo, I perſuade myſelf that they could not render any thing like a good reaſon, their whole Chriſtianity, I fear, almoſt all of it, lodged (as before) in their very name.

To theſe we muſt add the Ruſſians, and the Muſcovites, who are moſt ſottiſhly ignorant; for one of their churchmen being aſked how many Evangeliſts there were, anſwered, that he did not well know, but he thought four; and when others have been aſked ſuch obvious and eaſy queſtions, that a very child might make anſwer to, they would reply, that they could not give an anſwer to it themſelves, but God and their great Duke knew all things. Now as they are a moſt ignorant, ſo are they a moſt treacherous, prophane, filthy, and an idolatrous people.

But further, all thoſe beſide that bear the names of Chriſtians in the world, as the Jacobites and the Maronites, inhabiting Paleſtina, the Greek and Romiſh church, with all others bearing that name, muſt be added, to make up that number before ſpoken of.

And now to come unto the reformed churches, (or rather unto thoſe which call themſelves ſo) how few amongſt them are Chriſtians indeed, who are ſo in name; when we may run through many congregations, as the

Prophet

Prophet Jeremy was commanded to run through Jeruſalem, Jer. 5. 2. and not find a man a Chriſtian in earneſt and indeed, as well as in name ſo.

I confeſs that it is nothing, or at leaſt no hard matter, for a man profeſſing Chriſtianity, to act religion, to play devotion, to appear excellent upon the ſtage, as the Phariſees did, to be all for ſhew, nothing for ſubſtance, to affect the praiſe of men, as the Phariſees did, and to get the praiſe of men; and this is all the hypocrites can look for. And I know that the worſt of men may ſometimes be in good moods; but as good thoughts are long before they come into bad hearts, ſo they continue not long, making but a thoroughfare in them, being like a poſt that paſſeth by.

Bleſs me, even me, my father, was wicked Eſau's requeſt. No man would ever be miſerable, if it were enough for him barely to deſire happineſs. In 1 K. xxi. you may ſee Ahab upon his knees, but all that he ſhewed, was but the vizard of ſorrow, not the face; or if the face, not the heart; or if the ſorrow of the heart, not the repentance; a ſorrow for the judgment, not a repentance for the ſin. The very Devils howl to be tormented, and grief is not a ſign of grace. In Hoſ. vii. 14. mention is made of ſome that howl upon their beds, when they do not ſeek God in their hearts; and experience tells us, that the hardeſt flint and marble will ſometimes

ſeem to drop, it being eaſy to appear good, but hard to be ſo.

Copia rara bonorum, they who are good indeed, are rare creatures, all good and ſound Chriſtians conſidered together, in reſpect of thoſe which are not ſo, being like whales in the vaſt ocean, *apparent rari nantes*, which are ſeen rarely, not as other fiſhes, but here and there, no where to be ſeen in companies; or like the ſhaking of the olive tree, when the fruit is gathered; or like the gleaning of grapes when the vintage is done, Iſa. 24. 13. Called by one or two out of a city or tribe, Jer. iii. 4.

Now if we put all this together; as firſt, that there is no way, no means to attain ſalvation, but only in and through Chriſt Jeſus; ſecondly, that there be very few in the world which do, in reſpect of thoſe which do not ſo much as bear the name of Chriſtians; thirdly, amongſt thoſe which bear this name, very few there are (as to men it appears) which ſhall have benefit by Chriſt, compared with thoſe that ſhall not, what ſhall we ſay to this: even that which the Prophet doth in another caſe, Iſ. 5. 14. that Hell hath enlarged itſelf, and opened its mouth above meaſure.

Alas poor Indians! who live in darkneſs and in the ſhadow of death, and cannot help it; but woe be to Chriſtians, who have light to walk by, and will not improve it; for the firſt of theſe, they cannot know; for the ſecond

cond, they care not to know, they will not know, which makes them more inexcuſable, becauſe there is no plea for the wilful.

Many Indians, poor ſouls! walk in that little light they have, unreproveably, in reſpect to moralities, and doubtleſs, if they knew better, would do better (though I am perſuaded, that God will never honour Jeſuits ſo far, as to convert them unto Chriſtianity, notwithſtanding their great brags of their many converts there); but what can be ſaid in excuſe of thoſe who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, and live amongſt ſo many cleat viſions; yet even there, do ſo ſhut up their eyes againſt their light, as that they know nothing in religion, as they ought to know it.

Therefore, if we leave thoſe Indians awhile, and come home unto ourſelves, who are collectively and together called all Chriſtians, we ſhall find that the ſucceſſion of times here amongſt us, have very much reſembl'd that image, which Nebuchadnezzar ſaw in his dream, Dan. ii. whoſe head was gold, ſtomach ſilver, belly braſs, thighs iron, but the feet were of clay, for the lower we deſcend the worſe we are; for it may be truly obſerved, that in former times, in which there was by far leſs knowledge, there was by much more honeſty, more honeſty in men's dealings with men; and in order then to their duties due to almighty God, what zeal, care, and conſtancy, did our forefathers ſhew, while

they ſnatched at the bread of the word, even from the midſt of flames, and did ſeek after it with all their endeavour, while they were ſurrounded with many perils for ſo doing. Oh how happy would thoſe eſteem themſelves to be, if they could but purchaſe with much price and more hazard, any part or parcel of the New Teſtament, in that language they could underſtand it; how then would they have ſolaced themſelves with that ſweet companion. And if then they were put into priſon for glorifying God, in the ſelf ſame priſon they glorified him more, and were willing to run as faſt to martyrdom, as people in theſe days to pleaſure, or covetouſneſs; were as prodigal of their lives in the ſervice of God, as others are of their money now in the ſervice of their luſts, ſuffering then more willingly for Chriſt Jeſus, than moſt are now to ſpeak of him, or for him. In theſe times how many miles would people have gone to have heard that word of God, which they now turn their backs upon, the plenty of ordinances having made many poor, and long enjoyment of the word made them wanton with it, weary of it, and ready to loath it, as the Iſraelites did their manna, calling it out of contempt, this manna, Numb. xi.

Hence, as pamper'd bellies, and wanton palates, come to feaſts and banquets, where nothing can pleaſe but ſome odd ſauce, or ſome new invention; ſo, very many come to ſermons,

mons, and to the reading of good books, and will be ſatisfied with nothing but the vanity and froth of wit, tho' indeed it can give no ſatisfaction, being like wind in the ſtomach, which fills, but feeds not; or they come to hearing of the word, as if, (like Malchus the high prieſt's ſervant) they had their right ears ſtruck off; for they hear not with judgment, but ſiniſterly, and often with prejudice, to the perſon ſpeaking, and to the doctrine delivered, be it never ſo excellent, and he that delivers it of much integrity and deſert. Such hearers as theſe, regard not what is ſolid, ſubſtantial, and of moſt uſe to inform the underſtanding, and to ſtir up the affections; but that which is delightful, and pleaſant to feed the fancy with oily paſſages, which like the riddle of the ſun, goes through the wood, and through the wood, and breaks never a ſtick; ſo theſe, through the head, and through the head, and ſtay not. Now thoſe who thus hear, are as eaſily brought to admire every thing they underſtand not, as to ſlight and ſcorn thoſe plain and wholſome, and profitable truths, which are made eaſy to their underſtanding. And from this ſtrange lightneſs and vanity of their minds, they grow into a neglect of the holy ſcriptures, thoſe fountains of living water, as of other excellent treatiſes, which clear and explain them, to wade in kennels or filthy puddles; and (as one well obſerves) commit idolatry, as it were, with idle or fabu-

lous, or elſe other dangerous books; like Polician, who prefer'd the odes of Pindarus, before the pſalms of David; when, (if he could have underſtood ſo much) he might have found more weight and ſtrength, and wiſdom, and eloquence, in the holy ſcriptures, than in all the writings of the world beſide.

And certainly, that very great neglect of the holy ſcriptures hath been the parent, which hath brought forth ſo much Atheiſm amongſt us; when people, inſtead of the writings of Moſes, and the Prophets, and the Evangeliſts, and other parts of that moſt ſacred book, which was wont to lie in their windows, as their beſt ornament, and to ſit in their uppermoſt rooms, as their beſt gueſt in their houſes, there are many romances, and other vain and frivolous ſtories, which take up their places, much vitiating and corrupting the minds of many readers; who rather than they ſhould want books, that might afford matter to pleaſe and feed their wanton humours, have the Turkiſh Alcoran taught to ſpeak Engliſh.

Now from that little love and liking that men have and bear to the truth, there have proceeded many endeavours of late to grub and root up the very foundations of religion, by turning all fundamentals (which ſhould be received, not controverted) into queſtions and diſputes, as it was in the time of the ſchoolmen, about three hundred years laſt paſt, that by ſo doing had almoſt diſputed all religion

religion out of the church then; that being a true maxim, which theſe times have not well conſidered of, *Puritus diſputandi, Religionis ſcabies*, that the itch of diſputing breeds an ulcer or ſcab in religion.

It was never worſe in Iſrael, than when every one did that which was right in his own eyes, and this we may take notice of in the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 21ſt chapters of Judges. And how ill it hath been in this church wherein we live, ſince the reins of diſcipline have been ſlackened, or broken, he that hath eyes to ſee may ſadly behold; and he who hath an heart, which holds any pity in it, may bitterly lament.

I have obſerved that there is very much order to be taken notice of in that remote people, for the better carrying on of things amongſt themſelves; and they find much outward peace and quiet in it, though it be but a diſorderly order. But for that order and diſcipline, which is managed and carried on by ſafe and good rules, they are ſo conſiſtent to the well being of a church or ſtate, as that they cannot be ſeparated or ſevered without much damage and detriment unto both; order and government in a ſtate, that may give rules to, and require obedience from human ſocieties. So order and diſcipline in the church, which may direct, uphold, encourage, and defend people in the profeſſion of religion; becauſe anarchy and confuſion muſt needs

needs ſtretch, crack, and break thoſe bands aſunder, which hold men firmly together in a ſtate; and like a moth by degrees eats up the life, the very ſoul of religion in the church.

In the 16th chapter of Numbers, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with others their accomplices and adherents (all men of levelling ſpirits, and conſequently enemies to order and government) roſe up and gathered themſelves together againſt Moſes and Aaron, and ſaid unto them, you take too much upon you, ſeeing all the congregation is holy, every one of them; and probably upon this falſe ground thought that they were as good, and therefore it was fit that they ſhould be as great as Moſes: Superiority is one of the chiefeſt marks that envy ſhoots at, and that made theſe now riſe up againſt their governors, and they tell them that all the congregation was holy; it had been very well if they had been ſo, for then theſe of them would not have have ſo miſbehaved themſelves as they did. But every word they ſaid was falſe, for what holineſs could there be in mutiny, diſobedience, rebellion, and irreligion? if theſe could make them holy, nothing could make them impure. But why did not thoſe rebels lift up their weapons againſt Moſes, as well as their voices? the reaſon was, becauſe they could not, for God hath put ſuch impreſſions of majeſty upon the face of lawful authority, that wickedneſs

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is much confounded, even at the ſight thereof. But what doth Moſes now? They roſe up againſt him, and he falls down before God, and petitions againſt them. There is nothing that can be ſo miſchievous to the wicked, as the imprecations of the righteous: "Him that eſcapeth the ſword of Jehu, ſhall Eliſha ſlay, not by weapons, but by prayers; which prayers of God's people can reach ungodly men, where no ſword can touch them. Now if it be ſad for any one to be ſo far out of the reach of prayer, as not to have the prayers of God's people put up for them, it is by much more grievous, to have the petitions of thoſe that can ſo much prevail with God, ſent up againſt them. But I return to that I ſpoke to before.

He that takes notice of the carriage of thoſe primitive Chriſtians mentioned in the three firſt chapters of the Acts, ſhall ever and anon find one accord and one aſſent to be ſpecified in them, to be ſpoken of them; how that they were all of one mind, as if they had been all but one man. But in theſe times wherein we live, the Devil hath caſt ſuch a ball of contention, even amongſt people profeſſing religion; that as in the 11th of Geneſis, diviſion of tongues hindred the building then; ſo diviſion of hearts very much hinders the building up of Chriſtianity now.

Come to a Jew, and you ſhall find how that the principal thing which ſcares him, and makes

makes him to ſtartle from the goſpel, is the diſſention of thoſe who profeſs it, which he interprets to proceed from the lack of unity of truth in the foundation thereof.

And what ſaid the Papiſts long ſince, (and it had been well if there had been no truth in it) that what one preaches in the morning, another contradicts after dinner. And what peace, what accord in that houſe (ſay they) where the huſband is a Calviniſt, the wife a Lutheran, or one for Martin, the other for Luther, the ſervant an Oecolampadian, &c. Theſe latter times have fitted us with more ſeveral names of diſtinction, and enough for a very numerous family, where ſo many people of ſo many minds do ſometimes meet.

They ſay of bees, that ſtir and ſtrife among them is a ſign that their King is about to leave them, to remove out of the hive and be gone. Strife and diviſion in religion, is a ſad preſage, that either God hath, or elſe is about to leave a people. It is a principle in nature, that *vis unita fortior*, ſtrength united receives more ſtrength; and experience ſhews, that planks and timber well joined together make a ſhip, but diſjoined, they cauſe ſhipwreck; ſo connexion of ſtones and other materials make a houſe, but diſſipation of them a ruin; ſo agreement of Chriſtians builds up the church, diſſention amongſt them, pulls it down.

To him that demanded why Sparta had no walls, the King thereof ſhewed citizens well arm'd,

arm'd, and unanimous; unanimity, in the profeſſion of the truth of religion, would make it impregnable.

Diviſion, and ſubdiviſion, are terms that have their uſe in arithmetick, but they are dangerous to be heard of, in religion. This way therefore, and that judgment, and the other opinion or perſuaſion, can never repair, but make more breaches ſtill in the church of Chriſt, and I fear that much leſs than half an age will make the church in this nation moſt ſadly to feel and to rue the truth hereof; for as God is one, ſo is his will one, and his way one, and oh! how happy were it for Chriſtians, if they could get into, and keep in that way. How many exhortations have we in the ſacred book to peace and unity; live in peace, and the God of peace ſhall be with you. How are they reproved in ſcripture that walk diſorderly, or are unruly; both metaphors taken from ſoldiers, that have their ſeveral ſtations aſſign'd them, and if they break their ranks it is very dangerous.

Let the ſame mind be in you, which was alſo in the Lord Jeſus, ſaith the Apoſtle; not the like, but the ſame; not another, but the ſame. And the ſame Apoſtle ſets a mark upon thoſe which cauſe diviſions; and if they ſhall be called the children of God who are makers of peace, they muſt look out for another name who are the breakers and diſturbers thereof in this church wherein we live, where the connivance

nivance at some, whose opinions were thought less dangerous, hath been unhappily made *genus generalissimum*, from whence all the errors that have been heard of lately in this nation have taken their rise; for while liberty was given to some, it was taken by others; and from hence it is come to pass, that all those antient heresies recorded by Irenæus and Epiphanius, and others, (which we hoped had been long since buried in forgetfulness) have in these late times of liberty, (I say) been raked up out of their corruption, revived, and with new faces and glosses put upon them, presented to this nation in printed books, and have been preached by some, and applauded by others, and defended by more, to the endangering of the very life and soul of religion, and the utter overthrow of true godliness here amongst us.

It was well resolved, by good and reverend Calvin, *ne decem quidem maria, &c.* that it would not grieve him to sail over ten seas, about a uniform draught in the profession of religion.

Other particular men have wished (and I believe most heartily) that all these impertinent, and unprofitable differences about uniformity in the profession of religion, which so much disturb the peace of the church of Christ, were buried in their ashes.

Oh how many are led away with perverse disputings! a people of uneven, unquiet, unpeaceable, and untractable spirits, quite fallen

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off from their firſt principles, revolted and gone, ſo wedded to their own opinion, as that there is no reaſoning with them; for whatſoever can be ſaid to the contrary, they will be ſure to hold their concluſions, they being wiſer in their own conceits than ſeven men that can render a reaſon; and that great opinion they have of their own wiſdom, that love and liking they have to their own falſe way, makes them uncapable either of counſel, or cure; they peremptorily refuſing to return into the way of truth.

Many of theſe have abundance of error, (which proceeds from their own pride and ignorance) ſettled in their hearts as Solomon ſaith, Pr. xxii. 15. "a child hath folly bound up in his heart"; and in regard that all reaſonings and diſputings in this caſe with them will do no good, (for we leave them ſtill where we firſt found them) it were very well for ſuch, and much better for the church of God in this nation, if the rod of diſcipline and correction were long enough, and ſmart enough to drive it thence.

Yet the greater part of theſe pretend conſcience for what they do, when indeed (as before) it is the pride of their hearts, the ignorance and darkneſs of their minds, together with the perverſeneſs of their wills, which carries them into, and keeps them in error.

For the conſcience and will, they are both lodged together in the ſame ſoul, and there-

fore

fore may be eaſily miſtaken, or taken one for the other, as they have often been, and ſtill are by people of this nation, wherein we live; whence it comes to paſs by the righteous judgment of almighty God, that very many here amongſt us, in theſe latter times, have been given up, (their ſin being part of their puniſhment) to believe, and to be led away with lies, becauſe they would not entertain the truth.

Now, whereas the people in general of thoſe remote parts, honour and reverence a churchman, and for that very reaſon, becauſe he is ſo; theſe before named, (men of corrupt minds) cannot endure us who are the called and allowed miniſters and publiſhers of the truth of God, and merely for our office ſake, beſtowing on us all terms of obloquy and ſcorn, they can poſſibly invent, eſteeming us as that bleſſed Apoſtle St. Paul, and other good men of his time, were accounted by ſome περικαθαρματα 1 Cor. iv. 13. which properly ſignifieth, filth or dirt ſcraped off mens ſhoes; we are made (ſaith the Apoſtle) as the filth of the world, and are the off-ſcouring of all things unto this day, as if we were the very offal, or filth of mankind, unworthy ſo much as to have being upon the face of the earth.

And whereas again, the Mahometans and Heathens give their Prieſts not only honour, but comfortable maintenance, and without all grudging; there are very great numbers amongſt

mongſt us, being very much led away by principles of worldly mindedneſs and covetouſneſs, cannot abide us for our maintenance ſake; not conſidering, how that they who preach the goſpel, muſt live by the goſpel, and that by divine right, we have an honourable maintenance allowed unto us by almighty God, as it is moſt clear by many paſſages of the New Teſtament, as well as the Old. And by the laws of the land wherein we live, we have as great a civil right to what we may challenge from the people for our livelihood, as any that would deny it us, hath either to his bread, or ſhirt.

Yet this is contradicted by many, and the reaſon is, becauſe they do, and will contradict it; we have cauſe therefore to bleſs God for good laws, to direct and lead ſome, as to conſtrain and bind others; for there is no hope in this caſe to work convictions upon many, ſuch as the Pſalmiſt calls the beaſts of the people, who would defraud us if they could of all our juſt rights. For doubtleſs if we were left wholy to their courteſy, we might expect no more, probably not ſo much from them, as Micha gave his Levite, Judg. xvii. 10. ten ſhekels of ſilver by the year, and a little cloathing and victuals. Now thoſe ſhekels were rated diverſly, ſome at fifteen pence, others at twenty pence, and the higheſt rate of them was two ſhillings and ſix-pence the ſhekel; but which of theſe, Micha gave his

Chaplain, I cannot tell; neither can I ſay, what our people in this nation, left to themſelves, would generally give their miniſter by a voluntary gift.

But doubtleſs it would go very hard with many, with moſt, who if they were left altogether unto their people's feeding, would ſpeed little better than a young Welſh-man of the univerſity of Oxford ſometimes did, (and I am very certain that the relation is true) who, after he had gotten a lamb-ſkin upon his ſhoulders, being Batchelor of Arts, preſently went into the country for preferments, (as he ſaid) and what he found was but four pounds a year (as he told me) for reading prayers in a church, with liberty in the belfry to teach a few children, out of which he was to provide himſelf with food and cloathing, and all other neceſſaries. I meeting him about half a year after, he told me how he ſped, and that it was but ſmall, but ſmall. I aſked the poor man further, how he did make a ſhift to live? he told me, that he had been ſick of an ague the greateſt part of that time, could take but little food, and if it had not been ſo with him, his preferment would have ſtarved him. And thus certainly would it be with many others, if they were left for their livelihood meerly to men's courteſies.

Who think the bread of the church ſweet, and therefore would eat it up all from us, and leave us with their good will, no part thereof,

(and

(and haply they may find or imagine it ſweet in their mouths, but in their ſtomachs it will prove hard of digeſtion, honey in the one, gravel in the other) we leave theſe to God the righteous judge, who complains that he is robb'd and wrong'd in the injury done to us, Mat. iii. 8. and will find a time to reckon with men for all theſe arrearages; and therefore, if repentance and reſtitution in this caſe, when wrong hath been done, and after-reformation prevent it not, they will one day find enough mold in the grave, and enough fire in Hell.

The Athenians (as Valerius reports) though they were Heathens, yet when Phydias was to make for them the image of Minerva, (which Goddeſs, as they call her, was in very high eſteem amongſt them) and when that workman told them that he would make it for them, either in marble, or ivory, they heard him thus far; but when he further adviſed them to have it made in marble, becauſe that would be cheapeſt, they preſently commanded him ſilence, and put him out of doors.

And if Heathens could not endure to entertain the thoughts of cheapneſs, though but in the making of an idol, let them of this nation bluſh, and have their faces covered with ſhame, whoſoever they be that love to ſerve God, (as they call it) but to be at as little coſt in that ſervice as poſſibly they can; as if they ſtudied Jeroboam's politicks, whoſe po-

licy eat up his religion; who, after he had usurped his kingdom, did invent this taking snare to fasten the people unto him, in giving them some seeming immunity in the profession of religion, telling them that it was too much for them to go to Jerusalem to sacrifice, 1 K. xii. 28. (though they were commanded so to do by Almighty God) and therefore he set up Calves, one in Dan, and the other in Bethel, that they might stay at home, and serve God better cheap, with more ease, and (doubtless as they were perswaded) with no less safety.

Again, further for that people, they do so highly prize those books in which their laws are written, that they know not how sufficiently to esteem and value them, and therefore will not presume to touch them without much reverence. What shall I say, as to this, unto very-very many of this nation, and such as have long lived under the ministry of the word, but having profited nothing by it, know not how to put any valuation on it, and therefore esteem it a trouble, a burden, rather than a blessing or benefit, and consequently would be very well content (so they might be freed from all charge to the publishers thereof) if the whole book of God were served as that roll was, written by Baruch from the mouth of Jeremiah the Prophet, Jer. 36. cut all in pieces, and burnt in the fire.

Such as these, will never be perswaded to follow that most excellent counsel which Solo-

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mon gives, Prov. xxiii. 23. "buy the truth, but ſell it not." Buy it of God by prayer, buy it of books by reading, buy it of orthodox men by hearing, buy it of other good Chriſtians by conferring, buy it over and over again, you cannot over buy it, *Non Priamus tanti.*—There is nothing in the world to be weighed againſt it, to be compared with it. But ſell it not for a world. Yet there are a great many dunghill men of the earth, who with Æſop's cock, prefer a barley-corn before the pearl, and therefore are moſt unwilling to part with a penny for that moſt rich commodity.

It is ſtrange, further to conſider, (as I obſerved before) and is very true, that Mahometans ſhould never ſee their Alcoran, (though but a fardle of falſhoods and fooleries) or hear any part of it read, without a ſhew of great attention, affection, and reverence; and Heathens do ſo likewiſe at the hearing of their precepts; and all of them give honour and maintenance which is comfortable, and without grudging, unto thoſe that be their teachers, (though they lead them quite out of the way) and men dare to uſurp the names of Chriſtians, and yet would be content, (I would not be uncharitable in this ſad aſſertion) would be content (I ſay) ſo they might be at no charge for hearing the truths of God, if there were no book of God at all extant, no goſpel, no miniſter to declare and publiſh it.

But the time will one day come, when peo-

ple (if ever they return to a right knowledge of themſelves) who have manifeſted ſo much thrift in the profeſſion of religion, ſhall rue and repent the time that ever they did ſo; when they may deſire to ſee one day more of the ſon of man, one day more of the goſpels, which they ſo ſlighted before, but all in vain. When diſtreſs and anguiſh cometh upon them, then ſhall they call upon God, but he will not hear them, &c. the reaſon follows, becauſe they hated knowledge, Prov. i. 27, 28, &c. becauſe they hated and deſpiſed knowledge, as Eſau was ſaid to deſpiſe his birth-right, becauſe he put no greater valuation on it.

I confeſs, that if we, whoſe buſineſs it is to teach and direct others, do not in the firſt place labour to teach and inſtruct ourſelves; if we be like the ſtatue of Mercury, which pointed the way to others, while it ſtood ſtill itſelf; or like watermen, that look forward, while they row and move backward; if we ſeduce or miſlead our people, by error, or example; if we do not manifeſt love and mercy and pity to our congregations, but while we undertake the overſight of their ſouls, either ſilently or elſe in paſſion or diſcontent tell their perſons that we care not for them; if we be not ready, according to our abilities, for to open our hands to relieve the poor, and having ability, our doors, to let in others, that they may know we do not deſire to eat all our bread alone; if we open not our mouths, to pray for, and inſtruct all; if we deſire

deſire not to carry our people in our boſoms, as God commanded Moſes, Numb. xi. 12. that thoſe under our charge may be tender and near and dear unto our affections, and to this end uſe all winning carriages towards them, that may drew their affections unto us, and by loving us may be won to the love of him in whoſe ſtead we ſtand, and whoſe meſſages we deliver; if we obſerve not all goſpel principles, to order us as well when we are out of, as when we are in our pulpits; if we ſtudy (as ſome did in days of perſecution) to defend evil actions in evil times, and by depraved reaſon, or perverted ſcripture, could make any thing appear lawful that might pleaſe either ourſelves or others; if we deſire more of the ſerpent than the dove, and know better to flatter than to reprove; if we reſolve (as ſome have done in all ages) to cloſe unto that ſide on which the purſe hangs, and as it was ſaid of Joſeph's brethren, (but in a different caſe) that when they opened their ſacks mouths they ſaw their money; ſo if it may be ſaid of us, *Sacco ſoluto apparet nummus*, that if the knot of our deſigns and endeavours be undone, money, advantage, worldly profit will appear, and ſo voluntarily hamper ourſelves in thoſe ſnares the world caſts in our way to entrap us, which in a ſpecial manner we muſt warn others to take heed of; if we ſtudy wealth more than books, and appear to be *Bubulci potius quam paſtores*, neat herds, huſbandmen, horſe-cour-

ſers, rather than ſhepherds, and being baſely and ſordidly covetous, care for our fleeces more than our flocks; or if by being any other way negligent or ſcandalous, we forfeit that reſpect, honour, and love, we might challenge and receive from others, we have no cauſe at all to complain, if we find it not: But yet the high calling of a miniſter of the goſpel deſerves honour, even then, when the perſon diſhonoureth it, above all others offending, deſerves puniſhment.

On the contrary, if we the meſſengers of God labour in our whole courſe to walk in wiſdom; as firſt, by ſhewing all diligence in our calling, that by God's bleſſing upon our endeavours we may do our work with joy, and not with grief; if we ſtudy to ſhew ourſelves approved unto God, (whatever we appear to others) workmen that need not be aſhamed, and ſo make a full proof of our miniſtry, by ſpeaking and preſſing truths in ſeaſon, rightly dividing the word of God; not putting honey in the ſacrifice when we ſhould put ſalt, nor ſalt when we ſhould put honey; but wiſely temper and mix together law and goſpel, mercy and judgment, as occaſion is offered.

If we dare be good in bad, in the worſt times, as thoſe bleſſed martyrs and confeſſors (of whom the world was not worthy) in their generations were, ſome of them making their faith to ſhine clear through their flames; who

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I ſay, durſt be good, when others durſt not be ſo, but out of cowardiſe, (though they call'd it prudence) did not ſpeak out, ſpeak home, ſpeak all, but betray'd the cauſe of God, while they undertook to maintain it, and were ready to cenſure, judge, and condemn others for want of wiſdom and diſcretion, who did but their duty herein, while they ſpoke by the pound and talent, words of weight, and neither knew, nor in this caſe feared the faces of men, but did boldly reprove any that durſt boldly ſin againſt God; by ſetting up a ſtandard, in the name of the Lord, againſt the abominable pride, the bold prophaneneſs, the ſwiniſh drunkenneſs, the beaſtly filthineſs, againſt the arm'd injuſtice, the crying oppreſſions, againſt the groſs errors, the damnable hereſies, the horrid blaſphemies, as againſt all other provoking ſins, that the envy of Satan could tempt unto, or the corrupt nature of man yield unto, committed in the times and places wherein they lived, crying loud againſt them, by lifting up their voices like trumpets, and if their cries could not pierce their deaf ears, that they might be left unto that cry at midnight, which will one day awaken ſinners with a witneſs.

For as Jericho was overthrown with a noiſe, Joſh. vi. ſo every carnal heart is like a Jericho ſhut up, it muſt be ſpoken loud unto, or elſe it will not down. The gentle ſpirit of Eli is not ſufficient to amend children that are ungracious;

gracious; nor mild and gentle proceedings, men that are so; and therefore we must be bold, when sin grows impudent, and cannot blush.

A little more by the way; where I would have my reader to believe, that I desire to retain and manifest as many bowels of mercy and pity towards others, as any can shew; yet howsoever I do believe this to be a truth (and I am not alone in this judgment) that hereticks and dangerous schismaticks must be compelled to do their duties, if allurement will not serve. When people are and will be obstinate, they must not always be prayed and intreated; he that hath a phrensy must be bound; and he that hath a lethargy must be prickt up; a member that is rotten must be cut off, lest it endanger the whole body; he that hath strengthened himself in heresy or schism, must violently be pull'd from it; for some must be pulled out of the fire, and saved by fear, discipline, correction, and these, they whose sins proceed from wilfulness; others must find compassion, whose failings take their rise merely from weakness. Some things must be commanded as well as taught; these things command and teach, 1 Tim. iv. 11. Command, παράγγελλε, which word is used Act. 5. 40. and 'tis a metaphor taken from a Judge giving a charge unto others to do what he commands, or not to do it, at their peril.

But secondly, if in our whole course we manifest zeal for God, zeal joined with knowledge,

ledge, and carried on with diſcretion; if we propoſe the honour of God as our principal aim and end, and make love, charity, long ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, meekneſs, modeſty, and temperance to ſhine in our lives, that it may be ſaid of us in particular, *non tantum prædicat ſed vivit*, that we live as well as preach; for then do we preach the truths of God as we ſhould, when we endeavour to live up unto thoſe duties ourſelves, which in our exhortations, we commend to others.

Briefly, if we live, though not without failings, yet without ſcandal, in not giving any juſt cauſe of offence unto others, (whatſoever they may ſay or think of us) and thus we muſt labour to live (and we deſerve to ſuffer without pity if we do not ſo) that we may be *inculpabiles*, though not *inculpati*, not meriting the leaſt blame, though we muſt look to be blamed by ſome, who will not paſs a right judgment of us, how good ſoever our deſervings are; the way to Heaven being as well through evil, as good report; and hence it comes to paſs, that many times while we are moſt faithful, we are moſt foully uſed, by ſcorns and contumelies put upon us, which we muſt gather up, and keep together, as ſo many jewels hereafter to adorn our crowns; in the mean time, be very well content to be the drunkards ſongs, rather than their companions; to ſuffer any wrongs from others, rather than do the leaſt unto any; to carry chearfully

fully the reproaches of wicked men to Heaven, rather than their applauſes to Hell. In a word, if we be ἄμεμπτοι, blameleſs, though not ſinleſs, (for ſo we cannot be while our bodies are cloathed with fleſh) but if we walk by rule, evenly, carefully, circumſpectly, we are moſt injuriouſly dealt withal, if we be deny'd any of thoſe reſpects and encouragements which are due unto us.

And further, if there be no way to attain ſalvation, but only in and through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, all thoſe who preſume to name the name, of the Lord Jeſus, ſhould behold much beauty in the face of them which proclaim theſe glad tidings, eſpecially if they conſider what fair characters are put upon them by almighty God, both in the Old and New Teſtament.

In the Old Teſtament, called the ſtrength of a kingdom, and the excellency of their ſtrength; the chariots of Iſrael, and the horſemen thereof, 2 K. xiii. 14. (ſee Ezek. xxiv. 21) ſo it is ſaid of the godly Levites, the miniſters of that time, that they ſtrengthened the kingdom of Judah, and made Rheoboam ſtrong, 2 Chron. xi. 17. and ſo they do all places beſides, whereſoever they are.

In the New Teſtament they are called miniſters of Chriſt, and ſtewards of the myſteries of God, 1 Cor. iv. 1. Ambaſſadors for Chriſt, 2 Cor. 5. 20. &c. and God hath promiſed to be with his faithful miniſters and meſ-

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ſengers alway, unto the end of the world, Mat. xxviii. 20. to be with them in reſpect of themſelves by his preſence and aſſiſtance, and to be with them either in mercy or judgment, in reſpect of others which do, or do not entertain their meſſages, and he that heareth you heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me, ſaith Chriſt, Luke x. 16.

All which promiſes, well conſidered, and duly regarded, might remove far from us many cauſes of juſt complaining which now we have, and may make us take up the complaints of one of the antients, and ſay, *ad quæ tempora reſervati ſumus*, and to repeat it over and over again; Oh to what times are we reſerved; in what days do we live.

For that people in Eaſt-India, two principal cauſes of their more accurate walking, compared with others, may be theſe; firſt, becauſe they keep cloſe unto thoſe principles (moſt of them founded on the book of nature) which are given them in charge to walk by; and ſecondly, becauſe the current of Juſtice runs very quick in thoſe parts, as I obſerved before.

But for us of this nation, I need not enquire into the cauſes and reaſons of the moſt fearful miſcarriages, and of the many-many evils committed amongſt us, they lie ſo open unto every knowing and obſerving man's underſtanding, and therefore they want no great diſcovery; only I ſhall take liberty to repeat

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ſome of them which are firſt more general, and then thoſe, which are more ſpecial, and particular.

And firſt, the general and principal cauſe of all the evil in this, and conſequently of every nation under Heaven, hath its original from that maſs of corruption, that poiſoned fountain, which hath infected the whole world, or from that leaven which hath ſowered the whole lumps of mankind; *Ne mali fiant omnes, Naſcuntur*; every one is born bad, as well as becomes ſo; ſin ſticking more cloſe to man's nature, than his fleſh; and that original guilt, like a fretting leproſy, hath eaten into the manners of all, corrupting the whole man, in all the parts of his body, and in all the faculties of his ſoul.

The perſons of our firſt parents defiled their nature; but ever ſince, the nature of every one defiles his perſon. Whence the hearts of all are evil from their youth, eſtranged from the womb, and go aſtray as ſoon as they are born.

Now ſecondly, for thoſe cauſes, which are more ſpecial and particular of the increaſe and growth of wickedneſs in this nation, they proceed much from the want of reſtraint upon people, who are ſo naturally apt to wander out of the way, that dare take any unfit and unlawful liberty they pleaſe to take.

An eye and a ſword, make a fit emblem to expreſs magiſtracy; an eye to obſerve and watch,

watch, and a ſword to chaſtiſe ſome, and to ſupport and defend others. But when this eye is dim, or ſleepy, then juſtice muſt needs faintly draw her breath; when canker and ruſt grows upon the ſword of authority, for want of uſe, and thence cries out againſt him who ſhould otherwiſe manage it, for bearing the ſword in vain, (as canker and ruſt doth from the covetous man's ſilver and gold, Ja. 5. 3. and is a witneſs againſt him) it is a principal cauſe why the qualities and diſpoſitions of ſo many people amongſt us, (who cannot go without a rein) are ſo invaded and vitiated, nay quite overthrown.

It is a good and a true ſaying, *Qui non vetat peccare cum poſſit, jubet*; thoſe which are in power contract the guilt of all thoſe ſins upon themſelves, which they might reſtrain in others, but do not. The great ſin of Eli, (otherwiſe a good man) for which he paid dear, becauſe when his ſons made themſelves vile, he reſtrained them not, 1 Sam. iii. 13. all which the poor indulgent father there ſaith unto his lewd ſons, was, why do ye ſuch things? for I hear of your evil doings by all the people; nay, my ſons, for it is no good report that I hear. When any parties offending deſerve, if not death, yet ſome ſevere ſmart, it is not enough to chide them, becauſe there muſt be ſome proportion 'twixt the puniſhment and the offence. To give a light check for a great offence, or to award

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the ſtocks for theft, or the whip for murder, is to patroniſe offenders, rather than to puniſh them.

And further, the want of diſcipline in the church, ſince the hedge hath been trampled down, and kept ſo low about it, hath apparently been the moſt principal cauſe of the ignorance, error, hereſy, and atheiſm, which hath corrupted ſo many minds amongſt us.

Then, thirdly, the very ſhameful neglect of other public perſons in their ſeveral places, as of maſters in their families, of parents towards their children, and laſtly, of miniſters, in relation to their flocks, have been all of them, and are moſt ſadly miſchievous in this nation.

I begin with the laſt named, miniſters of the word, many of which are too-too careleſs of their charges, in taking no conſiderable pains for what they deliver unto their people; but on the contrary, by haſty and undigeſted meditations, offer unto God that which coſt them nothing; or that preach as moſt hear, reſting merely in the thing done.

And further, there are others, much to be blamed likewiſe, in that they do not ſtudy the people, that ſo they might apply themſelves unto them in all ways of inſtruction, reproof, or comfort. In the laſt chapter of St. John's goſpel, our bleſſed Saviour ſpeaks thus to Peter thrice, Simon Peter, loveſt thou me? loveſt thou me? loveſt thou me? as if he had

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ſaid, do'ſt thou love me? do'ſt thou love me? and do'ſt thou love me indeed? what then? ſhew thy love to me in this, feed my lambs, feed my ſheep; I have beſtowed my deareſt blood upon them, do thou beſtow thy beſt pains.

A wiſe and faithful miniſter of the goſpel muſt conſider that he hath lambs in his flock, as well as ſheep, and therefore muſt fit his diſcourſe unto all the ſeveral capacities of his hearers, providing, as ſtrong meat, for well-grown Chriſtians, as milk for lambs and babes; and he muſt deal with theſe babes, who are but newly enter'd into the ſchool of Chriſt, as parents do with their little children, when they begin to ſpell or read, encourage and praiſe them, though what they do be not ſo praiſe-worthy; ſo if ye ſee any the leaſt ſpark of good in them, to blow it up, and not rigidly ſhut the door of hope againſt thoſe, when God keeps it open; nor deſpiſe ſmall, the ſmalleſt things, in whom the image of God at all appears.

All congregations then conſiſting of ſome very low and weak, as of others of more high and quicker capacities, thoſe who have the overſight of them muſt take ſpecial notice of this in applying themſelves unto their ſeveral underſtandings accordingly; which if ſo, I think they do very ill, who do very much, if not altogether neglect the reading of the holy ſcriptures in their congregations, as if that

were not an ordinance of God. And they are much to be blamed likewiſe who endeavour to feed their people with ſauce, rather than food, as Ephraim fed on wind; or as that Roman Emperor, who ſeemed to entertain his gueſts with fleſh, fowls, and fiſhes of divers kinds, the figures of all which were moſt exactly counterfeited in thin ſilver plate, with paint put upon it, and preſented before them, which they might touch and admire, but they could not taſte, and much leſs carry away: ſo theſe, amuſe, trouble, and perplex many of the people whom they undertake to feed, with abſtruſe paſſages, or uncouth expreſſions, with high ſpeculations, or with airy notions, or with metaphyſical terms, clouding and obſcuring many truths, while their buſineſs is, to explain them; for by new and unfit dreſſes put upon them, they ſometimes make truths which are eaſy in themſelves, more hard to be underſtood; and becauſe they themſelves may happily underſtand their own meanings, conceive that their hearers muſt do ſo likewiſe, as if they were all in the upper form of Chriſtianity, and if they were, would be no more able to underſtand ſome paſſages preached and printed, (though ſome women ſay that they underſtand them very well) than the others were, to eat of that Emperor's diſhes.

And as theſe high exalted notions are very uſeleſs (to ſay no more) in our preachings, becauſe ſo few can reach them: ſo a too-too much

much affected plainneſs in them, which many times are preſented to hearers in ſuch unſeemly, and unpleaſing, if not abſurd expreſſions, (though I know that there is a learned plainneſs, as well as a plain ignorance) as in probability will never give that inform[illegible] the underſtanding, nor that motion and q[illegible] ening to the affections, as may work upon i[illegible] or either. In all labour, there is profit, ſa[illegible] Solomon, Pr. xiv. 23. which as it is true i[illegible] earthly, ſo in ſpiritual things, where the crown is reſerved for the diligent. And to what purpoſe hath the ſpirit and wiſdom of God ſtrewed the holy ſcriptures over with the choiceſt flowers and figures of rhetorick, &c. with many full but ſhort ſentences, if they were altogether uſeleſs in our preachings; in which we are commanded to uſe all arguments we can poſſibly invent, to perſuade men to take Chriſt and ſalvation; and when theſe perſuaſions come from our hearts, as well as our heads, the greater pains we then take, and the more our diſcourſes are furniſhed and ſet off with ſcripture elegancies, the more ſucceſsful and prevailing we may hope they will prove.

They therefore (as I humbly conceive) judge very raſhly, and very much amiſs, who in diſpenſing the word, conclude nothing to be ſo ſpiritual, as that which is low and flat, ſavouring of very little, or no pains, but is very idly, if not ignorantly performed.

And therefore, as good parts of learning, but above all, much piety, ſo there is great wiſ-

dom and prudence moſt requiſite to be found in every faithful miniſter of the goſpel, for the better carrying on of his miniſterial office, the want of which is, without doubt, a chief reaſon why we labour ſo much in vain, and do no more good in our places.

Which good he that deſires to do, muſt be *carbo & lampas*, firſt burning in himſelf, and then ſhining unto others. And further, he muſt go in and out before his people, not only in priority of place, but alſo in precedency of virtue and godlineſs, encouraging his people in all ways of holineſs, not only by precept, but example likewiſe. And as it is written of Julius Cæſar, that he was wont to be not in the rear, but head of his troops, and there ſpake to his ſoldiers, *non ite, ſed eamus*, not go ye, but let us go; ſo muſt Miniſters of the goſpel ſpeak unto thoſe in their ſeveral charges, and lead them ſo, that they may ſafely and boldly follow them.

And then, for the comfort of all thoſe, who have been wiſe and faithful in this their great truſt, and have done the utmoſt of their endeavours to do much good thereby; although they have not gained a fair ſeal to their miniſtry, by converting many ſouls to God, they ſhall be ſure of a full diſcharge, who have been thus faithful, whatſoever their ſucceſs hath been; that when their careleſs and unprofitable hearers, that he bound over unto the judgment ſeat of Chriſt, with this ſad

teſtimony

teſtimony againſt them, *Noluerunt incantari*, this or that people would not be admoniſhed, they ſhall receive a *Quietus eſt*, from that great and high tribunal, which ſhall ſpeak thus, "well done, good and faithful ſervant."

A ſecond great cauſe of the many growing evils amongſt us, proceeds very much from the great neglect and remiſsneſs of maſters, or governors of families, who do not take care as they might, as they ought, to keep in order thoſe under their roofs, and to nurture them up in the fear of the Lord: For examples herein, have much power in them to ſway either to good or evil; and the greater the example is, the greater hope if it be good, but if evil the greater danger; for greatneſs hath ever a train to follow it, either in good or evil. Abraham, Joſhua, and David, were great examples of good herein, as he that turns to their ſtories may clearly ſee.

But, on the other ſide, Jeroboam is ſeldom mentioned in the writers of Iſrael, but he draws a tail after him like a blazing ſtar, Jeroboam the ſon of Nebat, who did not only ſin himſelf, but made Iſrael to ſin, 1 K. xiv. 16. by whoſe high precedency, but evil example, he did exceeding much miſchief, ſo defiling his throne, that if ye look forward upon all the Kings of Iſrael, his ſucceſſors, you ſhall not find amongſt them all one good man, *omnes ad unum*, from Jeroboam the firſt, to Hoſhea the laſt King of Iſrael, they were

all nought. Now they who were ſo bad in the government of a kingdom, without doubt could not be good in the well ordering of a family.

And hence let all know, that as they may do much good, and conſequently reap much comfort, in the true managing of their families; ſo, on the contrary, they ſhall be ſure one day to ſuffer, and that heavily, for the diſorder of them, when they ſhall be called to a ſtrict account, not only for their own ſins, but for the ſins of others under their charge, who by their precedency and example they have drawn into, or elſe by their connivance ſuffered in wickedneſs.

A third, (and that ſhall be the laſt cauſe I will name, of ſo much increaſe of wickedneſs in this nation, and becauſe it is ſo deſtructive and miſchievous, I ſhall ſpeak more largely to it) is the great careleſsneſs of parents in their not looking to their children in their firſt inſtitution and breeding; for without all doubt, the very ſad miſcarriages of all ſorts of children, of higher and meaner extraction or deſcent, proceed very much from their firſt ordering; when many parents quite undo their children, *ſtulto & improba amore*, by reaſon of their fooliſh indulgence, the great ſin of Eli, (before ſpoken of) who brought up his ſons to bring down his houſe; who, for giving them their way too much, was ſaid to honour his ſons, more than God. So David, after him,

him, was obſerved over much to indulge his ſon Abſalom, when he was young; and to requite him for this ill breeding, Abſalom lives heavily to vex his father David, when his father was old.

The children of many parents, (eſpecially of great ones) bred when they are young, at home or abroad, are very often left too much unto their own will, to learn, or elſe to do almoſt what themſelves pleaſe; when getting few, or no grounds of learning, in their youth, or non-age, ſuddenly after many of them travel, and then wanting for the moſt part good guides for their youth, they being abroad firſt ſee nought, and then be nought, and after all this, without ſpecial mercy, they die nought.

I do not deny but that there may be very many good experiences gain'd by travel; but very few do, in reſpect of thoſe, which do not improve that advantage: whence it often comes to paſs, when a great number of theſe come to write themſelves men, being unable to read books for want of thoſe principles of learning they might have gotten, and unwilling to ſettle themſelves in other good employments, whereby they might be enabled to give a fair account of their precious time, they often learn to drink, ſwear, rant, game, and court women, (to ſpeak it in the modeſteſt ſenſe) or to ſpoil good cloaths, they reſolving to enjoy the pleaſures that are preſent, as if they had been born to no other end, but to ſit down, and to eat and drink, and to riſe up to play.

Hence with thoſe mad youngſters mentioned in the book of Wiſdom, they ſay one to another, "Come let us enjoy the good things that are preſent, let us fill ourſelves with coſtly wine, and let not the flower of the ſpring paſs by us; let us crown ourſelves with roſe buds, before they be withered, let none of us go without his part of voluptiouſneſs, let us leave tokens of our joyfulneſs or jollity, in every place, for this is our portion, and our lot is this"—leading ſuch lives as the very Heathens do abhor.

For they will deny themſelves nothing that may pleaſe their ſenſual appetites, not wine in bowls, nor forbidden fleſh, nor any thing beſide; while they feed without fear, and drink without meaſure, and ſwear without feeling, and live without God, dancing a round, about the mouth of Hell, into which they fall and periſh everlaſtingly, before they are aware, not conſidering how others have ſped which have ſo done before them. As Adonijah's feaſt ended in horror, ſo Belſhazzar's banquet, concluded with a cup of wrath; ſo the Philiſtines, mirth in their unavoidable ruin. And thus the peaceable days of the wicked are deſcribed, who ſpend their lives in pleaſure, and ſuddenly they are in Hell; all their whole mirth put together, being but as the merry madneſs of one hour; for they muſt aſſure themſelves, that when their meal is ended, a great and heavy reckoning will follow.

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Of all the ages of men, there is no time of life whereon we may ground more hope, and more fear, than in childhood and youth; and therefore thoſe parents, who would have comfort in their children, muſt look very carefully to their firſt ſeaſoning; for as it was the policy of the King of Babylon, Dan. i. iv. to have the children of the Jews, and not the old men, to be taught the language of the Chaldeans; ſo it is the ſubtilty of the Devil, to have children, while they are very young, train'd up in ſtrange language, and to have them corrupted with evil habits; which may make them like a veſſel, that hath ill liquor put into it at firſt, taſte of their firſt ſeaſoning, while life remaineth.

That dangerous time of youth, by the envy, cunning, and help of Satan, carries very many young men, left too much unto themſelves, into moſt ſhameful courſes; they being of themſelves like a ſhip on the main ocean, that hath neither helm, nor compaſs, and therefore moves, it knows not whither; or in this, like weak limb'd children, who, if they be ſuffer'd to go too much, and too ſoon, lame themſelves for ever.

Yet many think that in that time of life, their youth gives them ſome liberty and privilege, *aliquid ætati juvenum eſt concedendum*, they ſay, which words abuſed, make them the Devil's diſpenſation, and not God's; though they may fondly and falſely ſuppoſe, that becauſe

cauſe they are young, they may be borne withal in any thing; as if pride, drunkenneſs, whoredom, and the like fearful exorbitances, were not faults in youth; they not conſidering that want of years and want of judgment (which judgment enables to put a right difference 'twixt good and evil) uſually go together; and that youth is like unto green wood, which is ever ſhrinking and warping; for, as with the antient there is wiſdom, Job xii. 12. ſo pampered and ungoverned youth is commonly raſh, heady, inſolent, wedded to its own will, led by humour, a rebel to reaſon, a ſubject to paſſion, fitter to execute than to adviſe; and becauſe youth cannot conſider as it ſhould, it is no marvel, if it ſo often miſcarry. The ways of youth being ſteep, and ſlippery, wherein it is very hard to ſtand, as very eaſy to fall, and to run into moſt fearful exorbitances; it being the uſual manner of young men, ſo much to intend (as they falſely think) the love of themſelves, in the love of their pleaſures, as that they cannot attend the love of God; and therefore that man may much better hope to come ſafely and happily unto the end of his courſe, who hath paſſed over his firſt journey (I mean his youth) well.

But, (which is a very great hindrance unto many young men, when they do but begin to enter upon their way) there are many parents which do not deſire that their children ſhould be good betimes, they being miſled by one of the

the Devil's proverbs, which is, "a young ſaint, an old devil." It is true, that ſome, who have been wild and wicked in youth, have proved good in age; but it is a moſt tried truth, to encourage the growth of early holineſs, which hath been made good by much experience, that "a ſaint in youth, an angel in age."

And truly, very many children may thank their parents for much of the evil that is in them, beſide their birth ſin, poiſoning them, (as they do) by their evil examples; children confidently believing that they may lawfully do any thing they ſee their parents do before them; hence Juvenal ſpeaks well,

Maxima debetur pueris reverentia—

Therefore parents ſhould take heed what they do, or what they ſpeak before their children. As 'tis written of wiſe Cato, (though an Heathen) that he was wont to carry himſelf with as much gravity before his children, as if he had been before the ſenate of Rome; the neglect of which care, ſhall give children cauſe one day to ſpeak that in truth unto their parents, which Zipporah ſometimes ſpoke unadviſedly unto her huſband Moſes, when he had circumciſed her ſon, Ex. iv. 25. "ſurely a bloody huſband art thou unto me," ſo theſe will ſay to their parents, that they have been bloody fathers and bloody mothers unto them, in giving them a ſerpent, when they ſhould have given

given them a fish, a stone when they should have given them bread; in teaching them to swear, when they should have taught them to pray; undoing them by their evil, when they might have done them much good by their holy and unblameable examples, as also by their early instruction, and their timely correction, which might have prevented, (through God's blessing) their rushing into the pit of ruin.

But why parents thus generally fail in their duties, we need not much marvel, if we consider the carelessness, or rather inability of most parents to instruct their children.

Scilicet expectas ut tradet mater honestos,
Aut alios mores quam quos habet. Juv.

No mother can good precepts give,
Who hath not learn'd herself to live.

It is not to be hoped, that parents should give their children better precepts, than they have learn'd themselves.

But here I must prevent an objection, and 'tis this, that if parents be not wanting in their duty herein, it is not all the care they can possibly have, which of itself can make good children: For how many good children have fallen from bad loins, and how many gracious parents, (to their greatest grief) have been the fathers and mothers of most untoward children; the reason is, because goodness doth not, like lands and goods, descend from parents to chil-

children; for God will be the free giver and beſtower of all his graces, and will have mercy on whom he will have mercy. So then, if our children be good, we muſt thank God for that; if evil, they muſt thank us, and themſelves; us, for their birth-ſin, and many times for more of their evil, than ſo, (as before) themſelves for the improvement of that evil in the ways of wickedneſs.

However, we may conclude this as a rule, that thoſe children of all others, (in all probability) are like to prove beſt, who have been beſt ſeaſoned in their young years; for "train up a child in the way he ſhould go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Prov. xxii. 6.

In the wars 'twixt Syria and Iſrael, there was a little maid of Iſrael taken by the Syrians, 2 Kings 5. and ſhe was put to wait upon the wife of Naaman, the Syrian: That Naaman was a great man with his maſter the King of Syria, and honourable, ſaith the ſtory, &c. but he was a leper, and that ſtain of leproſy ſauced all his greatneſs ſo much, that the pooreſt man in Syria would not have changed place with him, to have his ſkin to boot. There is no greatneſs that can exempt a man from the moſt loathſome and weariſome conditions; doubtleſs that leproſy muſt needs be a grievous burden to that great peer. The maid of Iſrael tells her miſtreſs, would to God my lord were with the prophet, which is

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in Samaria, for he would recover him of his leproſy. Her miſtreſs preſently tells her Lord, who upon this report, immediately repairs to that prophet, and is healed of his diſeaſe. I report that ſtory, to this end, that it is very good for parents to acquaint their children while they be young, with the knowledge of God, and of his prophets, for we do not know what great good they may do by it. The general neglect of which, and of many other duties of parents, for the good and welfare of their children, as the great failings of others, (I have named) in their ſeveral relations, are principal and moſt apparent cauſes of the diſtemper and ſickneſs of the whole body of this nation, even from the ſole of the foot, unto the crown of the head,

Never ſuch liberty taken by youth of all ſorts, of both ſexes, as now. How generally do they forget God, the guide of youth; for how do they ſlight him by that irreverence they ſhew in religious duties, they being ſeduced in ways that carry them from religion, and conſequently from God. What lightneſs, looſeneſs, pride, drunkenneſs, and prophaneneſs, may be obſerved in too-too many of them. What a general debauchery expreſſed by wickedneſs in life, hath eaten into the manners of ſuch multitudes of the younger ſort of people, more by far in the preſent, than in foregoing times; whence it comes to paſs, that there never was ſuch a ſcarcity of good

ſervants,

ſervants. So that if Almighty God, (that can do what he will do) do not pleaſe to put curbs on them, that may reform, or reſtrain them; the ſucceeding age is like to prove a monſtrous generation.

How much uncharitableneſs and cenſoriouſneſs, that is accompanied in ſome with blindneſs of mind, and conſequently with error, about the things of God, hath taken up the thoughts of many more of riper years.

And laſtly, there is ſo much covetouſneſs, which turns ſo many wholly into themſelves, without reſpect had unto any others, which makes ſo many ſteer their courſe for wealth, eſteeming any thing that may be gotten, to be good gain, being reſolved to be rich, however they come by wealth, though that they get, be like the waters of Bethlehem, 2 Sam. xxiii. 17. which David there calls blood, becauſe gotten with ſo much hazard and jeopardy of their lives, that got thoſe waters; ſo of the lives and ſouls too of thoſe that get this wealth; and yet for all this, for Judas's wages they will do Judas's work; they want pieces of ſilver, and muſt have them as Judas had, though they earn them as dearly, and ſuffer for them as deeply as Judas did; eſteeming gain, godlineſs, when it is godlineſs that is gain; the hearts of ſo many are ſo bent upon, and run after their covetouſneſs, in theſe preſent, untoward, and ſelf-ſeeking times.

The prophet Iſaiah once cry'd, Iſa. xlv. 8. "O ye Heavens, drop down righteouſneſs!" when

when righteouſneſs was taken up into the clouds: So may we ſay, O ye Heavens drop down kindneſs, love, charity, in our times, that people may know that they were not born only for themſelves, that they came not into the world to laugh, and joy, and rejoice to themſelves, nor to eat and drink, or to thrive and grow rich, and to live alone to themſelves, and to their own private relations, but for others, who ſtand in need of them, who by the very prerogative of mankind, may challenge an intereſt in their ſuccour and ſervice.

The conſideration whereof, bids me turn back mine eyes again, upon ſome fore-mentioned paſſages in this relation, that ſet forth the moſt excellent moralities which ſhine in thoſe Indians, and by reflexion do very much ſhame us. And this doth further make me call to mind a paſſage in Eraſmus, in that colloquy of his called, *convivium religioſum*, where admiring Socrates, an Heathen, upon the ſame account, ſaid, that he could hardly forbear ſometimes to cry out, *Sancte Socrates ora pro nobis:* Now, (as before I have obſerved, again and again) that Heathens ſhould out go us in any way that is ſafe and good, that they ſhould outſtrip us as they do, us that have ſo much advantage of them in the way, us that have ſo much aſſurance, (if we run well in the race ſet before us, and chalk'd out to us) to get the better of them in the end; that Heathens (I ſay) ſhould walk in many things

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ſo exactly, and being but Heathens, do ſo, as it marvellouſly condemns, ſo it may deeply humble many of us, who bear the names of Chriſtians, and make us paſſionately to cry out, and ſay—Oh Religion! thou, (when thou art profeſſed in purity and power) which bindeſt God to man, and man to God! where art thou? What is become of thee? Whither art thou gone? Whither departed? Where ſhall we ſeek thee? Where find thee? If not very much amongſt thoſe which profeſs thee, ſome (and they the greateſt number by far) lay thee altogether aſide; ſome make thee to conſiſt too much in forms, and others, as much in affected phraſes, which are made by many a new Shibboleth, to diſtinguiſh one man from another. A very great number make this a compliment; as others a cloak; ſome ſlight thee, and others think themſelves above thee; ſome make thee, an any thing, and ſome, an every thing, and ſome, a nothing; and yet for all this, it is true of very many, by reaſon of their great unſettledneſs,

That while they run into theſe wide extremes,
Religion, and conſcience are their themes.

Without all doubt, Machiavel's poſition is no good divinity, which adviſeth men, to take up the profeſſion of religion, but to ſlight the practice and power thereof.

Da juſtum ſanctumque videri.

As if they reſolved to make the church of Chriſt a theatre or ſtage to act a part on; as if it were enough for a man to ſeem good, and not be ſo.

But let all aſſure themſelves, that their ſin, their own ſin, will firſt or laſt diſcover them, find them out; when they ſhall further, by ſad experience feel, that the revenges of Almighty God, are never ſo deadly, never fall ſo heavily upon ſinners, as after they have had moſt way in ſinning; and that God will find a time to pull off all people's vizards. "Thamar muffles herſelf to take a ſhort pleaſure" Gen. xxxviii. 15. and others muffle their conſciences for a time; but as Thamar was diſcovered, ſo ſhall all hearts be laid open, and pull'd out of their thickets wherein they would hide themſelves, as Adam, when he had ſinn'd would have done, Gen. iii. when a man ſhall ſay to his conſcience, as Ahab, ſometimes ſpake unto Elias. "haſt thou found me, O mine enemy?" certainly, if the breaſts of many were ript up, the wounds, and rents, and breaches, which guilt hath made there, would moſt viſibly appear.

Tuta eſſe ſcelera, ſecura non poſſunt.

A man may think to ſin without danger for a time, but never, without fear. Oh this conſcience, when it is thoroughly awaken'd, will appear to be a very ſtrange, a terrible thing, if it be full of guilt, for then it will ſwell

ſwell ſo big, as that it will be ready to break open the breaſt of him that bears it.

And it would do ſo, but for theſe reaſons; 1, becauſe it is many times hoodwink'd, maſk'd, or ſeared as with a hot iron, having the mouth of it (as before) bung'd up, or hoof'd over; and this makes it not to ſee, or to be ſenſible of its preſent condition.

And 2, a man, by the malice and cunning of Satan, may be brought to eſteem the doing of things good, which in themſelves are moſt horrid and damnable. Now conſcience is to the ſoul, as it is repreſented to it; "the time ſhall come, that he which kills you ſhall think he doth God good ſervice," and upon this falſe ground, a man may be never troubled at the acting of the worſt things; they ſhall think they do God good ſervice; but they do but think ſo, and ſhall firſt or laſt, be made to pay dear for ſo thinking, and ſo doing.

But however, this will be found a truth, that conſcience is ever marked and obſerved by her own eye, though no other eye perceive her; followed ſhe is, and chaſed by her own foot, though nothing elſe purſue her; ſhe flies, when no man follows, and hath a thouſand witneſſes within her own breaſt, when ſhe is free from all the world beſide; ſhe is a worm that ever gnaweth, a fire that ever burneth; and though a guilty man could eſcape the hands of the ever-living God, yet ſhould he find it miſery enough, and more than he could

poſſibly bear, to lie under the rack or laſh of a never dying conſcience; the conſciences of the wicked being ſo filled with the guilt of ſin, that there is no room left for the peace and conſolation of God to dwell in them. Cain felt this weight, like a talent of lead upon his ſoul, which he thought could never be removed, and therefore he utters a blaſphemy againſt the grace of God, never to be pardoned; for if he could have been as forward to aſk pardon for his ſin, as he was to ſeek protection for his body, he might have found it: But, *Nemo polluto queat animo mederi*, no cure ſo difficult as the cleanſing and healing of a polluted ſoul, no balm in Gilead, no phyſician there can of himſelf help it; and as all the wealth of the world cannot buy off the guilt; ſo all the waters in the ſea cannot waſh off the filth of one ſin.

——— *Arctoum licèt,*
Mœotis in me gelida transſundat mare,
Et tota Tethys per meas currat manus,
Hærebit altum facinus.

Said the guilty man.

——— The northern ſea,
Though cool Meotis pour on me,
And th' ocean through my hands do run,
Guilt dy'd in grain, will yet ſtick on.

Oh this fear, when it takes its riſe from guilt, is a moſt terrible thing. It is written of Tiberius,

berius, the Emperor, (a very politic and ſubtle, but a moſt prodigiouſly wicked man, who to compaſs his ends the better, was *ſummus ſimulandi & diſſimulandi artifex*, a very maſterpiece of diſſimulation) that for a time he ſeemed to ſtand in awe of no power either in Heaven or earth; but after this monſter had retired himſelf from Rome to Capriæ, for the more free enjoyment of his moſt noiſome luſts, in proceſs of time he had ſuch terrors fell upon him, and his natural conſcience did ſo perplex him, as that he came to be afraid of every thing, as of his friends, his guard; nay he became like Paſhur, whom the prophet Jeremy calls *Magor-miſſabib*, a terror to himſelf; like the man in the tragedy, who would fain have run out of himſelf, ſaying, *Me fugio, &c.* I fly from myſelf, guiltineſs would fain keep out of ſight; and ſuch ſhall one day be the horror of the damned, as that they would hide themſelves, if it were poſſible, even in Hell.

"A wounded ſpirit who can bear!" It is written of Caius Marius, and of Mutius Scævola, (men famous in the Roman hiſtory) that the firſt of them patiently endured the cutting off his fleſh, the other the burning off his right hand. A wounded eſtate, a wounded name, a wounded head, a wounded body, may be endured; but a wounded ſpirit, a wounding conſcience, is inſupportable; cannot be borne, cannot be endured; being like

unto a gouty joint, ſo ſore and tender, as that it cannot endure itſelf; the truth of all this being known by ſad experience of all thoſe, who either have been, or for the preſent are preſſed down under the weight thereof.

I will now draw towards the concluſion of this diſcourſe; but ſhall firſt make this requeſt unto him that reads it, that I may not be miſtaken in any particulars laid down in my many digreſſions, for my witneſſes are in Heaven, and in my own boſom too; that I deſire to be angry and offended at nothing ſo much, as at that which angers and diſpleaſeth Almighty God, hating that which is evil in all; and as far as I can know my own heart, am deſirous to do it in myſelf firſt, and moſt. But the ſad conſideration of the ſtrange and ſtill increaſing wickedneſs of this nation (wherein we breath) bid me take leave, to enlarge myſelf far in this caſe, and to rebuke ſharply or cuttingly, to go to the very quick; I ſay, the wickedneſs of this nation, to whom that of the prophet Jeremiah, may be fitly applied, that we are waxen fat, we ſhine over-paſſing the deeds of the wicked, putting far from us the evil day, while we laugh out the good, lying under the moſt heavy weight, both of ſpiritual and other judgments, but feel them not; having been like Solomon's fool, that could laugh, when he was laſhed; in many things juſtifying Turks, Pagans, Heathens, in being corrupted more than they all; our ſins being like that tree which

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Nebuchadnezzar ſaw in his viſion, whoſe top reached up to Heaven, and hath ſpread itſelf in its branches over all the parts of the earth here below.

But I ſhall not lead my reader into a dark and melancholy cloud, and leave him there; for notwithſtanding theſe ſad and horrible truths that I have named, I muſt ſay this, that if God have a people, a church, in any place under Heaven, (which none but an Atheiſt, or a Devil, will make a doubt of) they may be found in this nation, and in that we may take comfort, for they are the righteous that deliver the iſland, the remnant that keep it from deſolation; and were it not for thoſe few, whom the very great multitudes, among whom they are mingled, ſcorn and hate, this nation could not continue; which ſhould make the wicked of this land, if not out of piety, yet, (if they underſtood themſelves) out of policy, to love and reſpect thoſe, for whoſe ſake, they fare ſo much the better.

God hath had a church long planted in this nation, and I dare ſay, that ſince the goſpel hath been publiſhed to the world, it was never preached with more power than it hath been here in theſe latter times: As for our forefathers, they, inſtead of the food of life, iſſuing from the two breaſts of the church, the law and the goſpels, were made to feed on mouldy and fennowed traditions; the book of God was ſealed up from them in an unknown

tongue, which they could neither underſtand nor read; but for us at this preſent day, our temples are open, we may come; our bibles are engliſhed, we may read; our pulpits frequented, we may hear; and from theſe conſiderations ariſeth a great cauſe both of wonder and grief (unto every one who loves the glory of God, the happineſs of *his country*, and the good of himſelf and relations) to conſider, that here, where there is ſo much light and truth, light to guide, and truth to ſettle men in the way of life and ſalvation, there ſhould be ſo much wavering, wandering, and wickedneſs.

For aſk among the Heathens who hath done ſuch things? the virgin Iſrael hath done very filthily, or an horrible thing; as if the prophet had ſaid, in other language, ſtrumpets, harlots, proſtitutes, (who ſell their ſouls with their bodies) had done but their kind, but for Iſrael, whom I have eſteemed as a virgin, for England, which I have owned above all the nations of the earth, to do ſuch and ſuch things, who would have thought it? Nay, further, (as before) conſidering all the means, that we of this nation have had, above all the nations in the world beſide, to teach us to know God, and the great variety of mercies we have enjoyed, to provoke us to love God, (that have had the wind and ſun of all other people) the ſun ſhines not upon a nation, (if we be conſidered collectively, and together) worſe than we are.

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It was ſometimes propheſied of Jeruſalem, that Jeruſalem ſhould become ſo bad, that it ſhould juſtify Sodom, Ezek. xvi. we of this nation, (conſidered as before) are a people that juſtify Jeruſalem. Oh what proficients have we been in the ſchool of Satan; when, as thoſe ſins, which the Apoſtle would not have ſo much as named among Chriſtians, have been ſo common amongſt us, ſo that we may boldly ſay, how that Sodom and Gomorrah, and thoſe other cities, which Almighty God overthrew in anger, and repented not, thoſe cities which ſuffer the juſt and eternal vengeance of Almighty God, lie not in aſhes for greater ſins than have been committed amongſt us.

But I can take no pleaſure to be long raking in filthineſs and corruption; I will therefore make haſte to give over this unpleaſing, unſavoury, and naufeating diſcourſe; the rather, becauſe I know that neither counſelling nor declaiming againſt the ſins of the preſent times, doth much good. This I believe, that if I were filled with a ſpirit of falſhood, and could prophecy of wine and ſtrong drink, my book would want no buyers to read, and like it: But I ſhall leave that diſcourſe unto thoſe that have not heard of death in the pot; for my part, I ſhall deſire to be inrolled in the number of thoſe, who can wiſh with the prophet Jeremy, that their heads were waters, and their eyes fountains of tears, &c. and that they had in

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the wilderneſs a lodging place, that they might ſet down and weep day and night for the ſins of the nation and places where they live; that they might ſit down, and weep, and weep over and over again, thoſe ſins; ſigh and cry for the abominations they muſt needs take notice of; by which retirement they might be freed from ſeeing and hearing, and from vexing their ſouls, from day to day, at the unlawful deeds, and filthy converſation of others, and have better leiſure to think themſelves out of this wicked world.

Oh what cauſe have we of this nation to believe, that judgment is near, when the Lord hath try'd us every way, and all, hath done us no good. As firſt, God hath been exceeding good unto us in many favours, ſo that it might have been ſaid of England, (as one ſpeaks of Iſrael) that " Lord made that people a preſident of h and favour, that all the nations of the might learn by them, from their exam what God could do, and what he would do for a people whom he loved; but we have not been bettered by theſe benefits, and doubtleſs if any amongſt us had been ſo blinded with light, and ſick of being well, the body of this church and ſtate had never received ſuch wounds as ſeem incurable. Oh if we had not ſinn'd away our mercies, God would never have taken away any of his loving kindneſſes from us; but our offences have been marvellouſly increaſed by our obligations,

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there being no ſins of ſo deep a dye, as thoſe which are committed againſt mercy.

The Lord hath try'd us otherwiſe, his judgments have been in the land, and the keeneſt of all temporal judgments, the ſword, and the ſharpeſt of all ſwords, that which pierceth deepeſt, becauſe drawn amongſt our own ſelves, which hath made us our own ſpoilers, and our own prey, yet we the inhabitants hereof, have not learn'd righteouſneſs; we have been encouraged by peace, and we have ſlighted that, and we have felt the ſword of war, and that hath done us no good.

——— *Sævior armis*
Libertas nocuit.

Liberty, as it hath been abuſed, having given us deeper and more dangerous wounds, than ever the ſword could; ſo that neither the majeſty of God, nor the mercy of God, the goodneſs of God, nor the greatneſs of God, the favour of God, nor the frown of Almighty God, hath wrought upon us to reform us.

Now, all theſe particulars put together, they may give us great cauſe to fear, what we ſhall be made to feel, the weight of many ſad concluſions, which for the preſent we will not regard; as that ſin committed and unrepented of, ever leaves a venom and a ſting behind it; and therefore, that to ſin, is not the way to proſper; that the longer a reckoning runs on, the greater ſtill the ſum; and that the further compaſs

compaſs a blow fetcheth about, the heavier ſtill it lights.

I ſhall ſpeak it again, under how many ſad diſcouragements have many able ſober minded, and orthodox miniſters of the goſpel, laboured in theſe latter times; who, as if they had not enemies enough abroad, find them at home in their own houſe, their own coat, *propriis pennis configimur*, wounded we are by our own quills, by ſome who are excellent at cloſe bites, and though they ſpeak us fair, can open their mouths as wide againſt us as any others, and then when we deſerve nothing but well; as the Athenians by their Oſtraciſme would puniſh deſert, and crown ignorance. But veſſels that are moſt hollow and empty, make the greateſt ſound and noiſe; and as love thinketh no evil, ſo envy, can ſpeak no good; we need not wonder at this, when we conſider that men of the higheſt deſervings, have many times had the worſt uſage.

And then, if we find ſuch dealing from amongſt ourſelves, we need not marvel at any thing we ſuffer from others, from any, from all that do not think well of us, that do not love us, and for that reaſon which Martial expreſſeth in this epigram.

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec poſſum dicere quare,
Hoc tantum poſſum dicere, non amo te.

I do not love, I love not Sabide,
My reaſon of diſlike, I know not why.

When

When the Cynick was aſked what beaſt did bite ſoreſt and woſt, he anſwered, of tame beaſts a flatterer, and of wild beaſts a ſlanderer: Many a good man ſometimes feels the teeth of both theſe; of the tame beaſts, who when they creep into their boſoms will ſpit in their faces; of the wild beaſts, by their detractions, ſlanders, cenſures, prejudices, contradictions, and what not; who make their tongues worſe than the tongues of dogs, for they are medicinable, they cure, they heal, but the tongues of theſe, are ſharp; they wound, they kill.

But in regard that it is the nature of theſe beaſts thus to do, a wiſe and a good man, who deſerves well, yet hears ill, hath no more cauſe to be troubled at it, than the bright and full moon going on her courſe, hath at the barking of many dogs.

And as ſome ſpeak evil of us, becauſe we do not run with them to the ſame exceſs of riot, to diſtemper, and overthrow our bodies, ſo others, will not abide us, becauſe we cannot come up to them in a like luxuriency and rankneſs of opinions, to diſturb our brains, and to deſtroy our ſouls.

Now further, how have the miniſters of the goſpel, in theſe laſt times, (wherein the world grows worſe and worſe) been diſcouraged in the neglect that many find for the pains taken in their great work, their own proper means and maintenance with-held from them

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by the fraud and the deceit of ſome, and forceably taken away by the power and violence of others, and grudgingly paid them by many more; as if that greateſt of all works, the work of the miniſtry, deſerved no wages.

And laſtly, (which is more and worſe) what grievous heart-breakings do the faithful miniſters of the goſpel meet withal in their pains; a very great abundance of that ſpiritual ſeed of the word they ſow, ſo continually miſcarrying, upon the thorny, hard, rocky, barren hearts of their hearers.

It was an excellent commendation that Quintilian gave of Veſpaſian the Emperor, that he was *Patientiſſimus veri*, moſt patient to hear and to entertain truths. How happy ſhould we be, if our hearers in general deſerved the like praiſe; but truth is not for every one's, nay for few men's turn, *Ergo inimici*, a ſtrange concluſion therefore, and for this reaſon, this very reaſon, are we eſteemed many men's enemies, becauſe we tell them the truth; as St. Paul was long ſince accounted, Gal. iv. 16.

Some, that live in great and groſs ſins, cannot endure to have thoſe their ſins ripp'd up, or laid open; dealing with us herein, as a mad-man doth with a ſurgeon, flying in his face, when he goes about to open a vein that might recover him out of his madneſs; or like a deformed perſon, who breaks the looking-glaſs that ſhews him his deformity.

When

When our bleſſed Saviour fed the people, they reſolved preſently to make him a King, John vi. but after, when he rebuked their vile manners, they cry'd, crucify him, crucify him, let him be crucified, John xix.

I have formerly heard from many of the Scottiſh nation, (and I do believe the report is very true) that if a man did preach againſt their biſhops, while they were halling them down, they would hear him with a great deal of ſeeming attention, it did ſo pleaſe their humour; but if the ſame man told the people afterward, of their ſwearing, drunkenneſs, whoring, or the like, they would cry, "wha, wha, what doth the man ail? what would the man have?" There are very few, or none, but will be very well content that we ſhould meddle with other men's matters, with other men's faults, while we let theirs alone; as Herod ſeemed to hear John the Baptiſt gladly, 'till he mentioned Herodias.

Thus the Prieſt of Bethel, though he could not abide that Amos in his propheſy ſhould grate upon the houſe of Iſrael, yet if he would fly into the land of Judah, and propheſy there, he was not againſt that. And though that the Jews could not endure that Jeremy ſhould meddle with the burden of Judah and Jeruſalem, yet if he would propheſy againſt Edom, and Moab, and Ammon, he might for all them. Men's dainty ears cannot endure to have their own ſins touch'd, becauſe truth, like

like light, is of a diſcerning nature, and makes things manifeſt. Hence evil men love darkneſs more than light, becauſe their works are evil; as dark ſhops are beſt for bad wares. Light is good, but to bad eyes offenſive; honey is ſweet, but to wounds ſmarting: So truth is wholſome, but to guilty men diſtaſteful; like the bloody waters in Egypt, ſweet and potable to the Hebrews, (as Joſephus reports) but ſo unſavoury to the Egyptians, as that they would not down.

As they write of ſome creatures that they have gall in their ear, *fell in aure*; ſo the hearing of ſome truths diſtates many, like waters of wormwood, which may make a new proverb, bitter as truth, for this, many times puts ſome men into the gall of bitterneſs, angers, nettles them; as ulcerous men uſe to ſhrink at the lighteſt touch, yea ſometimes to cry out at the very ſuſpicion of touching. So that we are often driven to this dilemma; if we deſire to pleaſe, we muſt not ſpeak truth; for if we tell truth, we cannot pleaſe.

Tell a politician this truth, that, *Summa ratio eſt quæ pro religione facit*, that that's the beſt, the ſtrongeſt reaſon, which makes moſt for religion, and that the beſt policy which makes moſt for piety; this truth croſſeth his purpoſes, projects, deſigns, and therefore he cannot abide it.

Acquaint a covetous man with that truth, ſpoken by St. Paul, that the love of money

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is the root of all evil, (becauſe every ſin, either directly or conſequently, ſprings from covetouſneſs) you offer him loſs, you are a treſpaſſer to his trade, an enemy.

And let that truth, ſpoken by St. Peter, be preſſed upon a filthy voluptious perſon, that fleſhly luſts war againſt the ſoul, he regards you not, but though he periſh in his luſt, he will enjoy the pleaſures that are preſent.

Thus other ſinners either queſtion or quarrel at the truths that are told them: Cenſure and hatred being the antient lot of truth; cenſure of the meſſage, and hatred to the bearer.

When Lot came unto his ſons in law, then living in Sodom, and acquainted them with God's purpoſe immediately to burn that, and other adjacent cities, though he warned them as a prophet, and admoniſhed them as a father, that if they loved their lives they muſt preſently quit that place, they would not hearken unto him; but as Livie obſerves of others, (though in another caſe) *nec morbum ferre poſſunt, nec remedium*, that they were troubled both at their ſickneſs and cure; ſo theſe ſons in law of Lot, might happily be a little ſtartled, at the report that Sodom ſhould be deſtroyed; but more troubled at the thought of leaving Sodom, which was, as the garden of the Lord, before it was deſtroyed; and that ſpecial love they did bear to that place, might ſtir up their infidelity to queſtion the truth of that threat, and to reaſon the caſe haply thus;

Who ever yet knew it to rain fire? and whence ſhould that brimſtone come? and if it muſt rain fire and brimſtone, why rather upon Sodom, and Gomorrah, than upon other places? and therefore they were very willing to believe that their father in that menace mocked them, in telling them a fable, or fancy of his own head; upon which they reſolve to put it to an adventure, rather to ſtay and burn in Sodom, than to live and be ſafe and happy, out of it: And therefore, becauſe they would not part with the company of the Sodomites, they are juſtly wrapt together in their condemnation and puniſhment, *quos perdere vult Deus hos dementat.* Wiſdom enters not into the hearts of thoſe which are allotted to deſtruction; for God many times infatuates, when he means to deſtroy; as in the example of Pharaoh, who could neither conſider nor fear, becauſe it was his time to periſh: Pharaoh had warnings enough if he could have taken them, but after all, he neglects God, and truſts in his chariots, who did ſerve him, (as every thing ſhall ſerve others truſted to inſtead of God) they bring him into the midſt of the ſea, and there leave him to periſh miſerably; where he ſees not his miſery, 'till he feels it; nor feels it, 'till he could not poſſibly avoid it. It was even thus with the ſons in law of Lot, of whom it might have been ſpoken, as it was afterward of the ſons of Eli, they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, becauſe the

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Lord would ſlay them; the ſons in law of Lot were ſufficiently made acquainted with their near approaching danger, but all in vain, for the monitions of God harden the wicked: Hence, to carnal minded men, preaching is fooliſhneſs, devotion is idleneſs, the prophets mad-men, and Paul a babler.

St. John tells us in his third epiſtle, and fourth chap. that he could have no greater joy, than to hear, that thoſe he had taught, did walk in the truth; that is, did live in ſome meaſure as they were taught; which indeed is the joy and rejoicing, the crown of every faithful miniſter of the goſpel. On the other ſide, there can be no greater grief, unto thoſe who watch over men's ſouls, to keep them ſafe, and above all things deſire by the miniſtry of the word, to bring them from darkneſs to light, from the power of Satan unto God, preſſing upon them all arguments they can poſſibly invent which may perſuade them to ſuffer God, through Jeſus Chriſt, to ſave their ſouls; and when this is done, to find all their labour loſt, all their ſtrength and endeavour to be ſpent in vain; the ſpiritual ſword of the word having had its edge and point broken off, and battered upon the ſtony hearts of their hearers, which it could not pierce. Oh, this is an argument of diſcourſe and diſcouragement above all other arguments that can be thought on, unto thoſe who know how to value a precious ſoul, and to deſire its ſalvation.

And truly, (which was before pointed at) if parents do not aſſiſt us in the ordering of their children, and maſters of ſervants, in the reforming of their families; and to theſe, if magiſtrates ſuffer their ſwords to ruſt in their ſcabbards, rather than to draw them out in our aſſiſtance, that they may reach ſcandalous offenders, whom the ſword of the word cannot pierce, we may preach 'till our tongues cleave to our gums, or faſten to the roofs of our mouths, and all to little purpoſe. And I muſt further add, that if all I named before do their parts, the voice of the miniſter will be too weak, the ſword of the magiſtrate too ſhort, for to reach and bring down rebellious ſinners unto the obedience of Chriſt, unleſs the mighty arm of the Lord be revealed in his ordinances; yet however, becauſe the miniſtry of the word is the ordinary means which almighty God hath appointed and ſanctify'd, to convert ſouls unto him, (not excluding other means that tend to this end) there might be a very great hope of doing God much ſervice this way, by this preſent generation, if magiſtrates and miniſters, and others in their ſeveral places, did endeavour with all their might to preach down ſin, to ſmite down ſin, to pray down ſin, and to live down ſin.

But ſad experience ſhews that it is far otherwiſe. And it is a moſt evident ſign that the deſtruction is near, when the meſſages from God, and the meſſengers of God, are, as in theſe

theſe days, ſo generally neglected; when the faithful diſpenſers of God's ordinances, who are ſpiritual phyſicians, have improved all their ſkill to cure men's itching ears, to ſoften their hard hearts, and to heal their head-diſtempers, and have done every thing beſide, that lies in their compaſs, to further the ſalvation of their hearers, but all in vain; And therefore, that which was once ſaid to Babylon, Jer. li. 9. may be applied to this nation; we would have healed England, and ſhe would not be healed. After which, it were moſt juſt, (when exhortations and reproofs, ſpoken and preſt in the name of the Lord, can do no good) for Almighty God to ſay unto his prophets of England, (as he did to them in Babylon) forſake it, up, be gone, ſpend your breath here no longer in vain, apply no more medicines for ſuch as are paſt cure, get you to the Heathens, they will hear your voice; go to Africa, America, or India, and there eat your bread; ſanctify unto me a people that were not a people, fetch me ſons and daughters from far; let the barren bear children, and let them that might have been fruitful be barren: I have been ſerved with the ſins of England a long time, I am weary of bearing them any longer; and therefore, let them from henceforth lie, die, and periſh, and rot in their iniquities.

Oh 'tis the curſe of all curſes, the very bottom of the vial, and dregs of the vengeance

of Almighty God, when upon a continued ſlighting and neglecting of his meſſages and meſſengers, they are willed to relinquiſh their accuſtomed flocks, and to carry the word they have to deliver, unto ſoreigners and ſtrangers, as Paul and Barnabas told the Jews at Antioch, Acts xiii. 46. "it was neceſſary that the word of God ſhould firſt have been ſpoken unto you; but ſeeing you put it from you, and judge yourſelves unworthy of everlaſting life, lo we turn to the Gentiles." The Jews there neglect the word of God; and the loſs of this word of God ſhall loſe them their credit, liberty, peace, proſperity, and ſalvation, both in their own days, and in the days of their children's children. Where note, that goſpel and everlaſting life are joined together, and that the neglect of the one, is the loſs of the other. Lo we turn to the Gentiles; wild, neglected, and unnatural branches, they will hear our voice. And Acts xviii. 6. when the Jews at Corinth oppoſed themſelves, and blaſphemed, Paul ſhook his raiment, and ſaid, "your blood be upon your own heads, I am clean, from henceforth I will go to the Gentiles." When they reſiſted his perſon, and blaſphemed his doctrine, he ſhook his raiment againſt them, ſaying, your blood be upon your own heads; as if he had ſaid, I found you the children of death, and ſo I leave you; grow in your filthineſs and unrighteouſneſs, 'till you have fulfilled the meaſure

ſure of your forefathers; for my own part I waſh my hands in innocency, I can free my ſoul in the ſight of God, I was careful to apply my cures unto the hurts of Corinth, but they would not be healed.

Which thing, if the Lord in juſt judgment ever ſuffer to befall this land; as there are not very many months paſſed, ſince there was a great and ſtrong endeavour by ſome, (who fetched their councils from the depths of Hell) to remove both candleſticks and candles out of it; that ſo the people of this nation might have returned again to Ægypt, and in time become brutes, Atheiſts, and worſe than Heathens: For if it be true of human learning, *emollit mores*, that it ſoftens and ſweetens men's manners; it is more true of that knowledge which is divine and ſpiritual, without which people may grow barbarous, as in all probability this whole nation might have done, if the Lord had not appeared in the mount, and by an immediate providence prevented it. I ſay, if any ſuch thing ever happen to this land, they who ſhall be ſo unhappy as to live to the ſight of that woful day, may borrow thoſe words which that poor diſtreſſed woman ſometimes uttered, in the extreme bitterneſs of her ſoul, ſaying, 1 Sam. iv. 22. "the glory is departed, the ark of God is taken, (and again) the glory is departed." If this, I ſay, ever happen to this land, (which the mercy and goodneſs of Almighty God forbid)

it may be then ſaid, that judgment hath both begun and made an end with it; and that the caſe of it would be more deſperate, than if the ground of this iſland had opened her jaws, and in one common grave buried all her inhabitants.

But bleſſed be God, prophets are yet in England, and long may they continue in it; the pearl is yet to be found in our field, the goſpel is yet amongſt us. Oh that as we have the ſound thereof daily in our ears, the letter of it walking through our lips, ſo we might ſee the power thereof more manifeſted in our lives. To ſpeak a few words more of thoſe Indians, with reflection ſtill upon ourſelves; let us conſider, that as the ground is more or leſs manured, ſo 'tis expected it ſhould bring forth fruit accordingly, ſome an hundred, and ſome fifty, and ſome thirty fold, ſome more, ſome leſs, but all ſome: Five talents muſt gain other five, two muſt return two more, and one ſhall ſatisfy with leſs proportion. A child may think, and do, and ſpeak, as becometh a child, but a man muſt behave himſelf every way as becometh a man. An Hebrew muſt live as an Hebrew, not as an Egyptian. A prophet as a prophet, and not (by drudging and digging) as an huſbandman. A believer muſt live as a believer, and not as an Heathen, or Infidel. A profeſſor of the goſpel muſt walk as a profeſſor of the goſpel, not as a libertine, an Epicure, or Atheiſt. For a wilderneſs

derneſs to be barren, there is no wonder at all in that; but if thoſe trees which have been well huſbanded, dung'd, and dreſs'd, continue ſtill fruitleſs, they deſerve curſing. *Arbori infructuoſæ debentur duo, ſecuris et ignis*; two things belong unto the fruitleſs tree, the axe to cut it down, and the fire to conſume it.

When I have ſeriouſly thought on the many and mighty nations, at this day inhabiting the remote parts of the earth, and how that many of them are people that live in happy and moſt fruitful ſoils, which afford every thing to pleaſe, delight, and to enrich the ſons of men in ſweet airs; that being moſt true of the Pſalmiſt, "the earth hath God given to the children of men," Pſal. cxv. 16. to the children of men, who are mere aliens and ſtrangers to God; many of theſe enjoying as delectable places as the ſun ſhines on: And for the people themſelves, many of them, for fleſh and blood, as comely as the earth bears. And further, many of them people, which are provident to forecaſt, ingenious to invent, and moſt able and active to perform; concerning whom, they who have try'd them may further ſay, ſurely they are a wiſe people, and of great underſtanding; but conſidering again, that they enjoying every thing, want every thing, in wanting Chriſt, it makes their condition in all their enjoyments, which ſeem to make them happy, moſt miſerable.

To which purpoſe, Lactantius ſpeaks well of the learning of the Heathen philoſophers; *Omnis*

Omnis doctrina philoſophorum ſine capite, &c. that all their learning was without a head, becauſe they knew not God; and therefore, ſeeing they were blind, and hearing they were deaf, and underſtanding, they underſtood nothing as they ought to have done it. So for outward things, though they have abundance, yet they have nothing, becauſe they have not God, in the right knowledge and underſtanding of him, as he ought to be known in Chriſt Jeſus.

They want Chriſt, becauſe they are altogether unacquainted with him; but if we, who have had ſuch a continual power of him, and have ſuch advantages to know him, by hearing him ſo often teach in our ſtreets, if we want him, for want of cloſing with him, and conſequently be never a whit the better for him, it will make our eſtate by far to be more lamentable than theirs. Tyre and Sydon, and Gomorrah and Sodom, and all the people I have named, will ſpeed better at the day of judgment, than we ſhall do.

Theſe Heathens in East-India, (as I ſtrongly believe) ſee as far with the eye of nature as it can poſſibly reach; and nature itſelf teacheth them, and teacheth all the world beſides, that there is a God, but who this God is, and how this God is to be worſhipped, muſt elſewhere be learn'd. Thus nature without grace, being like Sampſon when his eyes were out, who could not readily find the pillars of the houſe wherein

wherein he was, no more can any man of himſelf faſten to any pillar or prop of truth, unleſs the ſpirit of God inſtruct and direct him how to do it.

Veritatem philoſophia quærit, theologia invenit, religio poſſidet, ſaith Mirandula; philoſophy ſeeks truth, divinity finds it, but religion poſſeſſeth it; not the face or maſk, or viſard, or form, but the truth and power of religion; of which ſomething by the way.

The truth and power of religion, I ſay; for there have been ever many miſconceivings about religion. How many ſtirs, and quarrels, and heats, have we known, about the liſt and fringe of Chriſt's garment, (as one of the moſt high deſerving long ſince obſerved) and theſe miſtakes in religion, have made many to agree no better than the bricklayers of Babel, who when their tongues were divided, could not underſtand one another's ſpeech, but did miſtake one thing for another: And thus do many now, who take nature (if but a little refined) for grace, will, for conſcience; ſo a floating knowledge for true wiſdom, cruelty for juſtice, covetouſneſs for frugality, baſeneſs for humility, preſumption for hope, a diſtempered heat for true zeal, and vain credulity for faith. And the reaſon of all this is, becauſe the beſt graces have their counterfeits, and from hence come thoſe many miſtakes.

Now for the power and truth of religion, we ſhall the better know it, if we firſt briefly diſcover

diſcover what it is not, and then what it is. What it is not: It doth not conſiſt in a bare hearing the word, though heard never ſo frequently, nor in a bare performance of other duties, which are good in themſelves; though prayers performed ne'er ſo conſtantly, long prayers, will not excuſe the devouring of widows houſes; nor the doing of other good duties, any the like acts of oppreſſion and violence. Thou preacheſt, thou heareſt, thou readeſt, thou prayeſt, but how liveſt thou? what doeſt thou? if theſe queſtions cannot be well reſolved, all good performances will prove nothing worth.

Again, the power and truth of religion, is not manifeſted in a raſh cenſuring, and condemning of others: I am not as other men are, nor as this publican; you know who ſaid it. It doth not conſiſt in the exalting of a man's ſelf above others, whatſoever his gifts and graces are. It is not to be found meerly in an ability to talk or prattle, or diſpute, or wrangle, and after to hold the concluſion, whatſoever may be ſaid againſt it in the premiſes.

But for the truth and power of religion, if we would briefly, and in ſome particular know what it is; it is that, which makes a man labour firſt to know, and then to believe, and to do whatſoever is to be believed and to be done; but to believe and do, rather than to know. It is that which makes a man get a better eſteem upon others, than upon himſelf. It is that which

which puts a guard on the lips, a bridle on the tongue, a curb on the will, and gives rules to the affections; which, when they are high and exalted, keep the heart ſtill low; becauſe the more acquaintance the heart hath with God, the more humble it is, even beholding through God's purity, its own vileneſs; and therefore a man, (in whom the truth and power of religion ſhines) when he hears of ſinners, borrows the Apoſtle's language, and ſaith of himſelf, that I am the chief, for he keeping a continual guard and watch over himſelf, can accuſe himſelf of a thouſand failings and ſins, when he is free from all the world beſide. This further makes a man to behold indifferent things with obedience, rather than with oppoſition or diſpute; knowing that the wiſdom which is from above, is firſt pure, and then peaceable.

Briefly, therefore, when the truth and power of religion is ſeparated from the profeſſion thereof, a man's religion is nothing worth; for in this caſe, there is a ſmall difference 'twixt an Iſraelite and an Iſhmaelite; 'twixt a circumciſed Hebrew, and an uncircumciſed Philiſtian; 'twixt a baptiſed Engliſhman, and an unwaſhen Turk: For the barren fig-tree in God's orchard, is in no better caſe, than the bramble in the wilderneſs; for God will lap them both up in the ſame bundle of condemnation; it being all one, to deny the faith, and not ſoundly and ſincerely to profeſs it.

It

It is reaſon which makes us men, it is religion that makes us Chriſtians; woe be unto us, that we are born men, if we be not Chriſtians; woe be to us, that we are called Chriſtians, if our lives ſhame our Chriſtianity; if we be not Chriſtians in deed, and in earneſt, as well in name, and in profeſſion ſo.

We quarrel at the ſuperſtition and blind devotion of others: But let us examine our ſelves, whether ſuperſtition in them, hath not a great deal of more heat in it, than religion in us; whether in their blind devotion, the awfulneſs in their ſervices of God, doth not arraign and condemn irreverence in ours.

Ready we are to judge the Papiſts for their raſh vows of Chaſtity; but let not us that do ſo, ever hope that uncleanneſs will bring us to Heaven. And we that are forward to condemn the Papiſts for their mad conceivings, about works of ſupererrogation, muſt never think that faith without works, will juſtify us before God: That we, who wonder at ſuch people as I have named in Eaſt-India, as at others, for their auſterity of life, which they voluntarily and unconſtrainedly ſubmit unto, in their will-worſhips, muſt never conceive, that doing what we pleaſe, what we will, can bring us at laſt to true happineſs. God hath called us (ſaith the Apoſtle) to glory and virtue, to virtue and holineſs, as the means; to glory and happineſs as the end. That therefore of St. Hierom is undoubtedly true, *difficile, imo impoſſibile*

poſſibile eſt, ut quis tranſeat à deliciis ad delicias &c. that it is an hard, yea an impoſſible thing, for a man to leap from pleaſure to Paradiſe; here, to have his belly fill'd continually with the delicacies of the creatures, there, to have his mind ſatisfied with the fulneſs of joy, and in both worlds to appear glorious.

Stories are fill'd with rare examples of virtue, even in Heathens. Seneca, the philoſopher, writes of Sixtius, that when the day was ended, and the night was come, wherein he ſhould take his reſt, he would firſt aſk his mind, *quod malum ſanaſti hodie, &c.?* what evil haſt thou healed this day? what vice haſt thou withſtood? and in what part art thou bettered? I find this recorded of another, who was ſo exact in his walking, that his whole life was *perpetua cenſura, &c.* a continual cenſure of himſelf. Ariſtides, for his uprightneſs, was called the juſt; and Tully writes of Fabricius, that he was a man who would reſolve well, and after, ſo unmoveably bent to perform what he had reſolved to do, *ut facilius ſolem è ſuo curſu, &c.* that you might as ſoon put the ſun out of his courſe, as Fabricius from his intended purpoſe. I have obſerved before, that very many people in Eaſt-India, what lets and impediments ſoever they have, will by no means omit their frequent devotions, nor any other thing they eſteem themſelves bound to perform, as to God; the far greater ſhame for Chriſtians, when every trifle

trifle is ſufficient to make ſuch a diverſion as may hinder them in religious duties.

And for many of thoſe Heathens I have ſpoken of, they live up even to the very height of nature, and want means to lead them further. Now what ſhall I ſay more of them? ſurely thus, that our bleſſed Saviour liked and loved the young man in the goſpel, Mark *x.* 21. even for that morality he ſaw in him; "Jeſus beholding him, loved him." And ſo may Almighty God, who is infinite in mercy, look in favour upon many of theſe poor creatures, that go as far as they can, in ſhewing them Jeſus Chriſt, and in his face beholding them; for many ſhall come from the eaſt, and weſt, and north, and ſouth, and ſhall ſit down with Abraham, and Iſaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of Heaven.

But this is a conſideration lockt up amongſt God's ſecrets; and therefore I dare not pry any more or further into it; neither ſhall I for the preſent enlarge myſelf in this Miſcellany; which I could have made to ſwell into a volume. But if that I have written, be as well taken, as it is well meant, it is enough, if not too much.

However, there are two things which I muſt add, in relation to myſelf. The firſt, (that I may not always lie at the mercy of my reader) is this; *difficile eſt ſatyram non ſcribere*, that if my pen hath let fall any thing in this diſcourſe, unbeſeeming my calling and years,

years, I moſt humbly beg pardon for that; I ſhall leave the preſs to make an anſwer for itſelf.

For the ſecond, I ſhall preſume one pardon, and that is for the leanneſs and lowneſs of my ſtile, wherewith this relation is cloathed, when my reader conſiders, that I lived among Indians, which made me rude.

Dum in vitâ ſumus in viâ.

THIS life's our way, in which, where e'er we be,
We miſs our path, if that felicity
Be not our utmoſt aim; tow'rds which we meet
With croſs-ways, rubs, and ſtreights, that cauſe our feet
To ſtumble or to faint; yet muſt we on,
What e'er we meet, until our journey's done.
We ſeek a country, cannot find it here,
Here in this pilgrimage, i'th' whole world, where
The ſtreighteſt, ſmootheſt paths, which moſt do pleaſe,
Are clog'd with toil and trouble; but want eaſe.
Our God and country too are both above;
We keep our way whilſt that we thither move,
But loſe it when our motion doth not tend
To that hop'd period, which may make our end
Happy and ſafe. There is no ſtanding ſtill
Here in this life; we do extremely ill,
When we proceed not; for if once we ſlack
To preſs towards the mark, we then draw back.
Who therefore ſees beyond his eyes, muſt know
He hath a further journey ſtill to go:
For tho' he could with weary paces get
The world's great round, his tireſome progreſs yet
Were not all paſs'd, ſtill muſt he think his ear
Fill'd with that voice Elias oft did hear,

What

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